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## I.—SERVIANA.

In the times of the Italian Humanists Vergil and Servius were generally named together, as we see in the letters of Filelfo. Within a short time after the beginning of printing not less than six editions of Servius were struck from the press. For Vergil still maintained his canonic place in European education. Even in the generation of the maturity of Ritschl and Madvig the following fervid words were penned by Suringar: *solas Servii lucubrationes maioris pretii aestimandas esse quam coniunctas omnium reliquorum scholiastarum vigilias*. I do not intend to contribute anything here—unless *in transitu*—to the problem of the Servius *plenior* and *brevior*, or whether the additions of Daniel (1600) are from a fuller, but authentic Servius, or not.<sup>1</sup>

As a rule the students of Vergil alone concern themselves with Servius, in our day. Among ourselves indeed, I fear not even all of them. For, to speak candidly, Vergil in America hardly anywhere emerges from the elementary place, to which the cast-iron tradition of our scholastic habits has long reduced him.

But Vergil is not, strictly speaking, fitted for children or very young people. And this is not merely my own opinion. "In Deutschland verblich sein Glanz," says Fr. Leo of Vergil (*Die Griechische u. Lateinische Literatur und Sprache*, p. 349), "mit

<sup>1</sup> Thilo thinks that the shorter articles alone are by Servius; Ribbeck holds that both longer and shorter articles are excerpts from the genuine commentary of Servius. Nettleship is not prepared to pronounce definitely. Scaliger was of opinion that the Servius which had come down to him was but a reduced total of exegetical matter: *cuius commentariorum tantum hodie cadaver habemus monachorum barbarie et spurcitia contaminatum*—an opinion which greatly impressed Thilo.

der Entdeckung Homer's im 18. Jahrhundert; nicht in England und Frankreich. Jetzt lebt er in der Schule fort, *für die er zu schwer ist*" . . . The Seminar of Professor Minton Warren in his day, in Baltimore, made a beginning of Servian study among us, as is proved by the theses of Professors Moore (of Vassar) and Mustard. Perhaps the subjoined studies may give a renewed impulse to these pursuits: May we not, in this connection, express the hope that Thilo's labors may become available in a Teubner text form, as is Porphyrio on Horace.

## I.

Is it possible to gain a close vision of the personality of Servius? Or indeed is he merely a pen, an excerptor, a summarizing librariolus and grammaticus? Or is it not perhaps possible, nay impressively clear, that he too gathered in his own soul and so reflected too, something of the times in which he lived, the times of Symmachus and St. Ambrose, of Theodosius and Praetextatus?

Nettleship speaks of these things in a general and somewhat vague manner:<sup>1</sup> It is plain, I think, that the commentary of Servius is the work of an adherent of the old religion. It is not merely that its author gives no sign of any leaning to christianity, or knowledge of it, but that he shows a decided fondness for the forms and antiquities of the old Roman worship. Taking the commentary as a whole, I am inclined to characterize it as one of the works which, like the *Saturnalia*<sup>2</sup> of Macrobius, marks the reaction in favor of the past, which took place among the Roman literati at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries A. D.

To determine the time of Servius, we will, for the present, respect the dissent of Nettleship and forbear availing ourselves of the data afforded us by Macrobius.

The latest author indeed (of whom we have knowledge), cited by our Servius (Aen. 10, 272) is 'Avienus, qui iambis scripsit Vergilii fabulas': Avienus, to whom Jerome refers as to one who wrote '*recently*'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Ancient Commentators on Vergil; Conington-Nettleship's Vergil, vol. I, p. cv.

<sup>2</sup> And the treatise on the *Somnium Scipionis*, fully as much.

<sup>3</sup> Teuffel, *Litt.-Gesch.*, § 420, 2.

But there are other data, and particularly a class of references which I would now beg to present to the attention of my readers. I mean the citations of Donatus. These in the main are put forward coupled with criticism and censure, we may fairly say, they are filled with a censorious spirit. It is quite probable, nay it is evident, that of the long line of Vergilian commentators quoted by Servius, Aelius Donatus was the last. He was 'orator urbis Romae', 'grammaticus urbis Romae', in fact he was 'magister urbis', flourishing about 350 A. D., and a preceptor of Jerome himself. The introductory preface of his commentary<sup>1</sup> is so significant for our general theme that I must set down here a few matters implied or expressed there.

Not only could a scholar in Rome study, in that generation, pretty nearly all those (i. e. commentators) who gained mastery in Vergil, but it was possible for Donatus to set down the *very words*<sup>2</sup>, and not merely their points or matters. *Verba servare* preserve the very diction and text of these commentators.

They were extant, in the libraries of Rome; e. g., the one of Apollo, on the Palatine, or in the library bearing the name of Trajan. Whether the average grammaticus, however, was not generally contented with the routine matter of the class-room,<sup>3</sup> we may well doubt. For his pupils were young, when they read Vergil. Donatus then claimed credit for this very practice of making literal transcripts from the best Vergilian commentators; e. g., from Verrius Flaccus, Hyginus, Cornutus, Asper, the great scholar Valerius Probus of Berytus, Terentius Scaurus, Sulpicius Apollinaris who taught Gellius, down to his own times. Positive contributions to Vergilian exegesis, after the era of Hadrian and

<sup>1</sup> Published by E. Wölfflin, *Philologus* 24, 154 with some obvious but most necessary corrections.

<sup>2</sup> *Maluimus optima fide, quorum res fuerant* (so W. corrects 'respuerant' of the Parisian MSS) *eorum etiam verba servare*.

<sup>3</sup> *Copia rerum, quam plerique omnes litteratores pedibus inlotis praetereunt, tamquam nihil ultra verborum explanationem liceat nosse* grammatico Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1, 24, 12. Even in the time of Macrobius the pupils of the grammaticus had no copies of Vergil of their own: *videris enim mihi ita adhuc Vergilianos habere versus, qualiter eos pueri magistris praelegentibus canebamus*. Macrobius, *Sat.* 1, 24, 5. Both the work of Donatus as well as, and even in a much higher degree, that of Servius, were written, not for *pueri* but for *magistri*, as well as for the cultured adherents of the older order: this last purpose, as we shall see abundantly further on, was the design and the very *raison d'être* of much in Servius particularly.

the Antonines, there do not seem to have been. At least none, that *we* would consider as such, unless there be those among us who would reverently enter into the 'adyta sacri poematis' (Macrob. Sat. 1, 24, 11) in the spirit of Symmachus, Praetextatus and Servius.

What then, we ask, is the spirit which reveals itself in the citations which Servius makes of Donatus?

(We may as well state here that Servius wrote his commentary on the Aeneid first, and that his work on Bucolics and Georgics followed, in the order named: the revelation of the best and most characteristic work of Servius must be sought in the first and greatest of his labors.) But I will let Servius speak directly: Aen. 2, 557, 'Tacet ingens litore truncus':... quod autem Donatus dicit, 'litus' locum esse ante aras, a litando dictum... *ratione caret*; nam a litando 'li' brevis est, et stare non potest versus. Clearly a blunder of Donatus. Did D. transcribe here, too? We do not know. Perhaps Servius, with a deliberation not very rare in the scholar's profession, named Donatus chiefly where the latter's hand had blundered: thus in 2, 798 where, for *exilio* Donatus proposed *ex Illo*: D. contra metrum sensit, dicens 'ex Illo' quasi de Illo: nam longa est. Of the invulnerable character of the Harpies (Aen. 3, 242): quod Donatus dicit, ideo eas fuisse invulnerabiles, quia de Styge erant natae, *non probatur*. On the eye of Polyphemus 3, 636: nam *male sentit* Donatus dicens 'late patebat' contra metrum. Again 6, 339 'effusus in undis' archaismos est (i. e. for: in undas): quamquam Donatus esse ordinem velit 'dum servat sidera in undis mediis'. In 6, 535 after giving his own explanation Servius adds: Donatus tamen dicit Auroram cum quadrigis positam Solem significare. Servius in his note on 6, 623, vetitosque hymenaeos is positively captious: unde Donatus *male ait* 'natura et legibus vetitos'. Why not, indeed? In 7, 1 he rejects the explanation of Donatus. In 7, 543 he disagrees with his nearest predecessor (even when Donatus was buttressed by the authority of Probus and Asper), although in a somewhat more modest manner: *potest* tamen esse epexegetis ed.: 7, 563 unde etiam Donatus dicit Lucaniae esse qui describitur locus, circa fluvium qui Calor vocatur: quod ideo non procedit, quia ait *Italiae medio*. In 8, 333 Donatus read *pelagi* as a locative, not a genitive... clearly wrong, although Servius here abstains.



The application of Venus to Vulcan (8, 373) to make new armour for her son Aeneas—her son by an illicit amour, too, was one of the gravest faults<sup>1</sup> of Vergil's economy, according to the main trend of exegesis. Servius stands by the poet. Exactly as in Homer, so here much ingenuity was consumed in getting up an interpretation that maintained absolute moral and logical congruity. Servius here very properly disagreed with his predecessor: *nam quod dicit Donatus potuisse fieri ut cum Anchisa concumberet Venus, ante quam Vulcano nuberet, non procedit.*

In 9, 361: *post mortem . . . whose death?*<sup>2</sup> Donatus says: of Nisus and Euryalus; and Servius properly rejects this forced solution of one of the famous twelve insoluble passages of the Aeneid: *quod non procedit si diligenter advertas.*

Again, in 9, 544 of the death of a warrior who was born of a king and of a slave girl—*quem serva Licymnia furtim sustulerat vetitisque ad Troiam miserat armis*, why *vetitis*? *secundum Donatum 'vetitis fato' . . . sed melius lege militari intellegimus, quia servi a militia prohibebantur. . . .*

Further on in this same book, 9, 672 on *porta commissa*: Here the faultfinding desire betrayed Servius into a note which Conington justly calls a fancy; viz., to read *commissa* as = *clausa*, not *credita*. Mnestheus and Serestus, Servius says, were commanders here, not Pandarus and Bitias: *unde apparet quia hunc locum male intellexit Donatus, dicens, commissam esse portam id est creditam, Pandaro et Bitiae: qui duces non erant. Cornutus vere et melius sensit, dicens, etc.* Servius here, I say, is tempted by his fondness for picking flaws in Donatus to adopt a fanciful explanation. Further the passage clearly shows that Servius had always before him, and quite apart from the extracts made by Donatus, the commentaries of Vergilian editors, in full.

<sup>1</sup>Qui enim moriens poema suum legavit igni quid nisi famae suae vulnera posteritati subtrahenda curavit? nec immerito. Erubuit quippe de se futura indicia, si legeretur precatio deae precantis filio arma a marito cui soli nupserat nec ex eo prolem se suscepisse se noverat, vel si mille alia pudenda seu in verbis modo graecis modo barbaris seu in ipsa dispositione operis deprehenderentur. This in Macrob. Sat. I, 24, 6-7. This, however, is spoken in character. Euangelus is throughout presented in the Saturnalia as the *citricaster* and free lance, but little in harmony with the pious reverence and dogmatic awe which animates the greater part of that company.

<sup>2</sup>Ribbeck brackets: but the testimony of the 12 insoluble verses itself speaks for the genuineness of the line as well as for the unfinished character of the work left by Vergil, immature—left against his will.

But I must content myself with mere citation of the further references: 9, 760; 10, 331; 463; 497; 11, 31; 124 (frustra ait Donatus); 316 (erravit); 318 (superfluum); 762; 12, 365 (sciendum hoc loco errasse Donatum, etc.); 366 (male ait Donatus montem esse); 507; 514 (hoc non procedit); 529 (superfluum est quod ait Donatus); 585.

Clearly then Servius thus asserted himself against that work (written for young grammatici) which was in current esteem when Servius came forward.

Further, Servius is named among the correspondents of Symmachus. Otto Seeck, the learned editor of Symmachus,<sup>1</sup> assigns letter no. 60 in Book 8 to the year 396 A. D., and says on p. cxcix in his *Chronologia Symmachiana*: Servius fortasse a Mario Servio Honorato, Vergilii interprete, non diversus erat . . . . . hunc enim Symmachi familiaritate usum esse, ex Macrobbii Saturnalibus perspicitur. In fact the assumption of two Vergilian Serviuses for the generation of St. Ambrose and Symmachus, this notion of Nettleship is, in my opinion quite untenable, and becomes quite frail the more we examine the data of tradition.

Now, further, was our Servius a mere man of learning, a mere student of classic literature, or was he not also one to whom the old order of Roman ritual, of the old culture, of certain forms of Greek philosophy were dear and precious? Is there any regard for the times of Theodosius?

It was a time of transition. On the whole the pagan Romans, who abounded particularly among the aristocracy, could not complain as to certain remnants, ritual and worship. Even at the time 384 A. D., in which Symmachus as praefectus urbis had made his famous *relatio*, Ambrose<sup>2</sup> said, in addressing Valentinian directly: *templa gentilium muneribus onerasti*. . . . Further, ib. the bishop of Milan refers to the Roman Senate thus: in *communi illo Christianorum gentiliumque concilio*. Haruspices still practice their profession (Epist. Ambros. 82, 16). There are more Christians in the Senate than gentiles (ib. § 31). In all temples are there altars, an altar even in the temple of the

<sup>1</sup> A. Aurelii Symmachi Quae Supersunt edidit Otto Seeck, Berolini Apud Weidmannos 1883.

<sup>2</sup> St. Ambrose, Epistulae No. 68 Migne.

Victories (ib.). Is not Symmachus satisfied with having the *simulacra* of the ancient gods everywhere, in the baths, in the porticoes, in the streets?

The most curious feature of that last struggle of the ancient cult and culture too with the spirit of Christianity was this: to combine the lofty flights, and the undeniable elements of a noble spirituality as it was presented in the Platonism<sup>1</sup> and Pythagorism of that time with the observance of traditional rite and ritual.

And this characteristic attitude—the Germans would call it *Zwitterstellung*—I find revealed in Servius, too. And first as to rite and ritual. Vergil was a veritable storehouse, and even when he was not, the fervor of the old cult interpreted into him whatever was needed. Varro was the universal author of reference, although Nigidius Figulus ranked close to him. Much of the present tense in citations is due to the fact of citation. Time and again Servius goes into and brings forward the precious matter of Varro, far beyond the exegetical needs of the passage and beyond the elucidation of his *lemma*. The word *theologia*, and the *theologi* as a definite class of writers and authorities, recur a great deal both in Servius as well as in Macrobius.

So even Varro, as the great antiquarian authority, is ranked; e. g., Aen. 10, 175 (on divination): Nigidius Figulus autem solus est post Varronem, *licet Varro praecellat in theologia*, hic in communibus litteris: nam uterque utrumque scripserunt. Thus Varro, who in his own person seems to have followed the allegorizing rationalism of his Stoic teachers and sources, could be classed with Orpheus and the Orphica, with Hesiod, or with Zeno, Kleanthes and Chrysippus, for that matter.

Servius everywhere seems to have recorded and preserved the old myths and legends with remarkable fulness and great detail, without believing them, or in them, at all; it is the interpretation thereof which contains the precious truth. To illustrate: Aen. 1, 743: *Unde hominum genus: si fabulam respicis*, a Prometheo intellege, vel a Deucalione et Pyrrha; *si autem veritatem respicis*, varia est opinio philosophorum.

<sup>1</sup> We say Neoplatonism, from our point of view. But Macrobius; e. g., (the most fervid of them all in his time and generation, in our tradition) speaks of *Platonici*, *Platonica secta*, *diversi sectatoris Platonis*: Plotinus inter philosophiae professores cum Platone princeps, Somn. Scip. 1, 8, 8. It must be admitted that the Neoplatonists took Plato much more seriously, in a dogmatic and transcendental way, than did the Academy of Athens, Old, Middle and New.

Iuno and Aeolus, Aen. 1, 78: rediit ad physicam rationem, nam motus aëris, id est Iunonis, ventos creat, quibus Aeolus praeest. On Ceres: Aen. 1, 306: unde et *alma Ceres*, quod nos alat; nam physici dicunt omnia per diem crescere; or again Aen. 2, 610 *Neptunus muros* hoc quidem habet fabula, quod Neptunus cum Apolline Troiae fabricati sunt muros. Sed constat etc.; i. e., Laomedon used certain funds which he had vowed, to build walls with, instead. Interdum pro aëre Iuno, pro aethere Iuppiter ponitur, Georg. 2, 325; aliquotiens et pro aëre et pro aethere Iuppiter, ib. Like all didactic people he iterates his phrase in such matters. Kronos (Saturn) emasculating Uranos (Caelus) Georg. 2, 406: *quod ideo fingitur, quia*, nisi umor de caelo in terras descenderit, nihil creatur. The ivory shoulder of Pelops: (Georg. 3, 7) *quod ideo fingitur, quia* Ceres ipsa est terra, quae corpora universa consumit, ossa tantum reservans. The expounding of *Pan* on Buc. 2, 31 reads almost like a reminiscence from Cornutus c. 27. Athena sprung from head of Zeus: sed *quia* dea est artium et ingenii, *ideo ista finguntur* (Buc. 2, 61).

So too Prometheus and Caucasus, etc. (Bucol. 6, 42)—a mixture of Euhemerism and Stoic lore. Oracles from doves in Epirus: *quod ideo fingitur, quia* lingua Thessala *peleades* et columbae et vaticinatrices vocantur (Buc. 9, 13). The eagle of Zeus who furnished the thunderbolts against the Gigantes: *quod ideo fingitur, quia* per naturam nimii est caloris, adeo ut etiam ova quibus supersidet possit coquere (Aen. 1, 394). So frail and transparent is everything that one marvels as to what could remain in these symbolisms that could really be brought into any connection with religion at all. One more illustration must suffice: (Aen. 4, 201): *Excubias Divum Aeternas* definitio est aeterni ignis. Quid est ignis pervigil? excubiae deorum, et sciendum *non vacare ratione*, ut in aliquibus templis sit ignis pervigil: nam potestates aut terrenae sunt, aut aerae, aut aetheriae; sed quia aether ignis est, ideo in aetheriarum potestatum templis ignis est, ut reddatur eis imago sui elementi, est autem in templo Iovis, qui aether est et Minervae, quae supra aethera est: unde de patris capite procreata esse dicitur.—An eruditional attitude, then, in the main.

As for the question of the actualities of the old ritual and worship in Rome in his time there is some evidence. The word 'Christian' indeed cannot be discovered in the Servius which we have, and still some curtailing and some evanescence of religious

usages seems tangible here and there. Aen. 7, 397: sicut in Liberalibus *fiebat*. Bucol. 3, 76: causa natalis diei in cuius tantum sacrificio *licebat* voluptatibus operam dare; nam in aliis sacrificiis *erat* castitatis observatio, quas praesentia sua pontifices . . . *celebrabant*, Georg. 1, 344.<sup>1</sup> Now the system of Neoplatonism had reserved a place, not a high place but still a place, for these *numina* of old. God indeed, the First or Primal Essence is above all, but man<sup>2</sup> must not pass over the intermediate emanations which conduct him to the higher one: besides the Primal Essence he must worship *Noûs* and the Soul of the World, the visible gods and the demons. . . . All are entitled to worship, which becomes less material and more purely intellectual or intuitive as we rise from the lowest emanations upward. It was the time of *θεοκρασία*: Osiris and Isis, Serapis and Apollo, all were more or less identified and in many interpretations finally merged in the Sun.

So too our Servius (Aen. 6, 859) identifies Quirinus and Mars; Hercules and Mars (Aen. 8, 275 *nam et stellam unam habere dicuntur*). Numenius, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus: all were from the East, and they were active in this process of simplification and identification, this fusion of gods and legends, this furnishing of a broader basis to the cult of *simulacra* and *ἀγάλματα*.

There was such a trend even in the mythological treatises of the Stoics who now gained a new period of study and of acceptance. Et sciendum, says Servius (Aen. 4, 638), Stoicos dicere unum esse deum, cui nomina variantur pro actibus et officiis; unde etiam duplicis sexus numina esse dicuntur, ut, cum in actu, mares sint, feminae, cum patiendi habent naturam . . . etc. So the Stoici in that era of Servius and Symmachus and Praetextatus were classified as *physici*.

Vergil as a bearer of philosophy or of philosophical erudition: here there is a broad difference between the scholar Servius, and between Macrobius. The latter with a fervid intensity which is all his own, claims for the national Roman poet a veritable omniscience and universality comparable only to the attitude which the members of the Saturnalian dinner parties (with a few

<sup>1</sup> On lupercal: spelunca (Aen. 8, 343), in qua de capro *luebatur*, id est *sacrificabatur*.

<sup>2</sup> Zeller, Philos. d. Griechen 3, 2. Third edition, 1881, p. 669.



exceptions) bestowed on Homer himself. To Symmachus and his friends then Vergil was a veritable book of revelation: Maro omnium disciplinarum peritus (Macrob. Sat. 1, 16, 12): Homerus vester Mantuanus (1, 16, 43) Vergilius sciens Liberum patrem Solem esse, et Cererem Lunam (1, 18, 23) haec est . . . Maronis gloria, ut nullius laudibus crescat, nullius vituperatione minuat (1, 24, 8). Astrologia totaque philosophia (1, 24, 18), poeta tam scientia profundus quam amoenus ingenio (3, 2, 10), suo more, velut aliud *agendo*<sup>1</sup> implet *arcana* (3, 4, 6), idque non mortali sed divino ingenio praevidisse (5, 1, 18), Homericae per omnia perfectionis imitator Maro (Somn. Scip. 1, 7, 7), poeta naturae ipsius conscius (Som. 1, 16, 5).

Servius, I say is more cool and sober; i. e., in his estimation of the philosophical strains, ideas, notions, allusions, in Vergil, than is Macrobius.

He is perfectly aware of the fact that Vergil, in Aen. VI has not been himself converted to Platonism. With unflagging industry Servius notes whether here Vergil 'follows' the Epicureans, or there the Stoics, or elsewhere again, the Pythagoreans, even in a slight phrase. Servius treats Vergil as one who was grounded on Epicureanism, a pupil of Siro, and holds that, in the Inferno, Bk. VI, the Roman poet merely resorted to metempsychosis as a device which would enable him to introduce a prospective survey of Roman greatness and grandees: v. especially on Aen. 6, 752: ante dicta de reversione animarum probatio huc tetendit, ut celebret Romanos et praecipue Augustum . . . *au reste* Servius says of Vergil himself (Aen. 6, 264): Sciens ergo de deorum imperio varias esse opiniones, prudentissime tenuit generalitatem. Ex maiore autem parte Sironem, id est magistrum suum Epicureum sequitur; *huius autem sectae homines novimus superficiem rerum tractare, nunquam altiora disquirere*.<sup>2</sup> There is some scorn here, some valuation too of the loftier things to which those materialists did not aspire. Clearly Servius himself treasures these *altiora*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For *agens*. This crowding of the gerund on the participle is one of the earmarks of the Latinity of Macrobius and of Servius. Thus the latter almost uniformly says *dicendo* for *dicens* of earlier latinity.

<sup>2</sup> Hoc autem de animis etiam Lucretius adserit, *sed non tam veritati studet, quam sectae Epicureae*. Aen. 5, 81.

<sup>3</sup> Uberrate doctrinae *altioris*, Macrob. Sat. 3, 12, 5: Multa per *altam* scientiam philosophorum, theologorum, Aegyptiorum, etc. Servius in the introduction of his commentary on Aen. VI.

And now let us see what these were to him. It is quite clear to the student of Servius that he is a Platonist or as we say a Neoplatonist, also that the doctrine of the Spheres and other Pythagorean lore, long incorporated with Platonism, were held by Servius as a personal matter of serious conviction, and not merely as a curiosity of erudition.

Plotinus is not quoted very often in Servius, but he does appear; e. g., in Aen. 9, 182: *Apud Plotinum philosophum et alios quaeritur, utrum mentis nostrae acies per se ad cupiditates et consilia moveatur, an impulsu alicuius numinis? et primo dixerunt mentes humanas moveri sua sponte; deprehenderunt tamen ad omnia honesta impelli nos genio et numine quodam familiari, quod nobis nascentibus datur, etc.* Possibly here Servius has in mind the Platonic doctrine set forth by Plotinus in *Enneades* 3, 4: *περὶ τοῦ εἰληχότου ἡμᾶς δαίμονος.*

But the character of these studies will, I trust, permit me to abstain from any attempt to rebuild the system, or construct any exhaustive survey of it, out of Servius. Enough, however, will be presented to characterize his deepest convictions.

(Dido) 'excuses (Aen. 4, 653, 'vixi') the snapping short of life *because* Plato says that with a great penalty are visited the souls of those who leave life before the time'.

Ib. Not Nature but Fate. For by three things is human life limited: by *nature*, to which not more than one hundred and twenty solar years are granted; by *fate*, for which ninety years, that is, three courses of Saturn, cause destruction, unless perchance the kindliness of other stars<sup>1</sup> overcomes even its third course; by *fortune*; i. e., by chance, which has to do with all things which are beyond ourselves (*extrinsecus*, τὰ ἔξω, Stoic phrase?) . . .

Similarly, of influence of constellations (Aen. VI 129): *quos diligit Iuppiter, hoc est, quos in ortu benignus siderum aspectus inradiat.*

Again: What indeed is that portion of ourselves (Aen. 4, 654) which goes to the Lower World? "For we consist of three things, of soul which is from above (*superna est*) and seeks its origin; the body, which gives out on earth; the shade, which Lucretius thus defines, etc. 'And (Aen. VI 136) under the image of myths she (i. e. the Sibyl) teaches the straightest road,

<sup>1</sup> ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἥλιος θεός, οὗτις ἐμψυχός, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρον· Plotinus, *Enn.* 5, 1 2.

through which return to heaven (ad superos) is granted to souls' . . . . . 'We know (novimus) that Pythagoras of Samos divided the life of man in the fashion of the letter Y, namely, because the first period of life is indefinite, because it has not as yet given itself over to vices nor to virtues: but that the bifurcation of the letter Y begins with youth, at which time men follow either vices, that is the left part, or virtues, that is the right part?' . . .

Incarnation, according to the doctrine of the school: diis autem geniti (Aen. VI 129), quia corporibus se infundebant<sup>1</sup> potestates supernae, unde heroës procreabantur.

Still, with all his undeniable and broad learning, differing as he does from the dogmatic fervor of his fellow-disciple Macrobius, our Vergilian commentator here and there in his exegesis is positively carried away by his Neoplatonism. I find a clear case in VI 129 sqq.

Pauci, quos aequus amavit  
Iuppiter, aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus,  
Dis geniti, potuere.

Clearly Vergil thinks of types such as Herakles, as Dionysos, but Servius: *quos prudentia* (he means philosophia) *sublevat*.<sup>2</sup> He has in mind that approximation to *the One* and to *the First*, which is particularly reserved for the philosopher of Platonism.

To this we may add a passage from the note on VI 127 because the *doctrine of the Spheres* is embraced there also: ergo hanc terram in qua vivimus, inferos esse voluerunt, quia est omnium circulorum infima, planetarum scilicet septem, Saturni, Iovis, Martis, Solis, Veneris, Mercurii, Lunae et duorum magnorum . . . . . Ergo omnia quae de inferis finguntur, suis locis *hic* esse comprobabimus. And in Aen. 2, 25: Nam circuli septem sunt, Saturni, Iovis, Martis, Solis, Veneris, Mercurii, Lunae. Et primus, hoc est Saturni, vehementer sonat, reliqui secundum ordinem minus, sicut audimus in cithara. Ergo (sic) *tacita* luna est, cuius circulus, terrae vicinus immobili, minus sonat aliorum comparatione. It is obviously quite doubtful whether the slowly composing master of the villa on the Posilipo, continually leaped in and out of such doctrinal purpose, and Servius, as exegetes

<sup>1</sup> οὗτω τοι καὶ ψυχὴ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς σῶμα κ. τ. λ. Plotinus, Enn. V 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀληθινώτερον ἀναβὰς κάκει πάντα ἰδέτω νοητὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ αἰδία. Plotinus, Enn. V 1, 4.

will do, reveals *himself* rather than his author, reveals, I say, the times which Heinrich Ritter (Hist. of Ancient Philosophy, last vol. Engl. version, p. 634) admirably sketches: The diligence which the pagans now showed in the preservation of ancient literature in general; which appeared to the philosophers as the appropriate means for maintaining the divine revelations in their purity, and giving a becoming exposition of them. In these efforts, moreover, the Greeks and Romans were in no slight degree animated by a devotion to ancestral institutions and a pride in the olden renown of their state<sup>1</sup> and people, all of which seemed to be endangered by the new religion.

But I must address myself to bringing this section to a conclusion. I will therefore content myself with a mere enumeration of further points of Neoplatonic doctrine.

The forms of Soul: anima vitalis, a. sensualis, intellectualis, and that of plant-life,<sup>2</sup> four grades in all (Aen. 5, 81): Elysian fields in lunar sphere (Aen. 6, 638); Eternity of Soul (6, 727); different lot of souls after death (Aen. 6, 745). The *First* and the *One*: invocat autem Summum Bonum, quod in silentio constare manifestum est (Aen. 6, 264). The enormous note on metempsychosis (Aen. 6, 724).

Reincarnation of Souls (Aen. 6, 703). To these references I add a few from the notes on the minor poems: ex insertis *altioribus rebus*, Bucol. praef., harmoniam caeli, in qua septem soni sunt, ib; novimus autem eandem esse Proserpinam quam Dianam 3, 26; qui summos circulos et caeli secreta conscendit 5, 57; sed constat secundum *Porphyrrii* librum, quem solem appellat, triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem, et eundem esse Solem apud Superos, Liberum Patrem in terris, Apollinem apud inferos (Buc. 5, 66). Add the note on 'numero deus impare gaudet' (8, 75); facie rubra pingitur Pan propter aetheris similitudinem: aether

<sup>1</sup> Illa quippe saecula sunt, quae hoc imperium vel sanguine vel sudore pepererunt, Macrobi. Sat. 3, 14, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Here clearly the MSS of Servius should be changed from *φυτική* to *φυτική*: esse etiam quartam infra omnes, quae *φυτική* (MSS *φυσική*) vocatur . . . ut est in herbis et arboribus. The copyists of Servius in Italy in the XV and even more in the preceding centuries knew but very little Greek indeed. Cf. also Plotinus Enn. 3, 4, 2: διὸ φεύγειν δεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἄνω, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὴν αἰσθητικὴν ἐπακολουθοῦντες τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς εἰδώλοις, μηδὲ εἰς τὴν φυτικὴν, etc., etc., ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ νοερὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ θεὸν θέωμεν. Add Macrobius Somn. Scip. 1, 14, 7: λογικόν, αἰσθητικόν, φυτικόν.

autem est Iuppiter (10, 27); quod dicerent philosophi, recedentes hinc animas illic alia corpora sortiri 1, 243. Add 4, 399.

A little above the name of Porphyry occurred to us: And is it not obvious that the numerous works of Porphyry dealing with Homer and with Homeric exegesis<sup>1</sup> should have been studied and treasured by Neoplatonists such as were Servius and Macrobius. There is, e. g., the overwhelming almost literal identity of the whole manner in which myths and mythical matters are expounded—identity or strong resemblance, I say between Porphyry and Servius. Cf. on Homer Il. A, 399 (the binding of Zeus): *δεῖ τοίνυν φυσικόν τινα μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς ὑπονοεῖν λόγον. Δία γάρ φησι τὴν ἄκρατον θερμασίαν, τὴν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τοῦ εἶναι ἡμᾶς αἰτίαν, Ἦραν τὸν αἶρα, κ. τ. εἰ.*

Again, from Porphyry's *de Abstinencia* ed. Nauck, 1860, e. g., p. 178. *τῆς δὲ Φερρεφάττης παρὰ τὸ φέρβειν τὴν φάτταν φασὶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦνομα τῶν θεολόγων.* It is the same theory, the same exegetical procedure.

## II.

It remains for me to say something of Servius as a grammaticus and rhetor.

But the bristling, teeming, mass of data is before me: how can I serve the readers of this Journal? Clearly only in one way, that is in proceeding to an election. I therefore beg to offer some survey of three things.

1. The data furnished by Valerius Probus.
2. The technical terms of grammatico-rhetorical nomenclature.
3. The injection of Rhetorical Theory into the appreciation of Vergil.

### I.

One might perhaps say that there is nothing to be added to the exposition of Nettleship (*The Ancient Commentators on Vergil LXIV-LXVIII*). The keen and sober manner of Nettleship in arriving at conclusions is familiar to students of Vergil and of the tradition of the Latin grammatici. But still there is, I believe, some aftermath in our Servius.

Servius read Probus' own copy of Vergil which was accessible in some library at Rome: Probus ranked foremost as a literary scholar among all the grammatici who gained renown in the

<sup>1</sup>Schrader, *Porphirii Quaestiones Homericae ad Iliadem pertinentem reliquiae*, Lipsiae, 1880, p. 2, II ad Odyssam, p. 2, 189.



profession: with him, or near him there ranked but one other name, that of Terentius Scaurus,<sup>1</sup> comparable to the renown of Aristarchus and of Zenodotus.

As Suetonius (De Grammaticis 24) tells, Probus wrote no *ars*: What then made him so famous? 'multaque exemplaria contracta *emendare ac distinguere et adnotare* curavit. As we learn (Reifferscheidt, p. 138) from Suetonius, Probus applied the critical symbols of Aristarchus to the settling of the text of Roman authors such as Vergil, Horace, Lucretius. Still his chief aim was the study of the pre-classical authors: Suetonius (Gram. 29) emphasizes his persistence in this archaic criticism, non-productive though it was of fame or fortune. He found it not easy even to secure MSS—*hos cum diligentius repeteret*—they were almost lost or forgotten: *atque alios deinceps cognoscere cuperet*, etc.; we may think of Naevius, Plautus, Ennius, Lucilius, Pacuvius, Accius, Terence, Caecilius and the like. I am quite positive that no one of the later grammatici rivalled or equalled him in this familiarity with the *veteres*.

What made Probus so positive that he claimed to know the precise way in which Plautus and Ennius pronounced certain words (Gell. 4, 7, 1), scil. Hannibâlem, Hamilcârem, Hasdrubâlem. Now this curious *anecdote* of Gellius' is significant in another way: Probus insisted on practicing this pronunciation *himself*, insisted on opposing the actual pronunciation which prevailed all around him. To such an extent was he steeped in, and soaked with, the *sermo antiquus*.<sup>2</sup> That 'silva observationum sermonis antiqui'. What was it?

Is it not exceedingly probable, that he appended parallels of diction, phrase, vocabulary, to those MSS which he traversed critically? Did he not thus add to his copy of Vergil, e. g.? Teuffel in dealing with Probus on Vergil, is content to copy the assumptions of Steup (Tffl. Litt. G. 300, 3): The allusions to Probus in Charisius, Diomedes, *Servius* and Priscian are doubtless *all at third hand*, probably due to the commentary of Flavius Caper. As for *Servius*, doubtless they are due to that direct and eager study, which made him and his fellows and co-religionists

<sup>1</sup> Et nomen grammatici merui non tam grande quidem, quo gloria nostra subiret, Aemilium aut Scaurum, Berytiumve Probum. Ausonius ed. Peiper, p. 2; also p. 63: Scaurum Probumque corde callens intimo; also p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Quintilian had Probus in mind when he wrote X 1, 43: nam *quidam* solos veteres legendos putant, etc., etc.

ransack the libraries with anxious industry and consuming interest. And I have no hesitation in claiming that they were made *at first hand* as were those to Varro; e. g., direct reading, citation of authors who were indeed authorities, this was the very fad even, if I may say so, among the Romans led by Praetextatus and Symmachus.<sup>1</sup> In those circles hard reading and direct quotation were positively demanded. The more *antiquus* or *vetustus* an author was the greater his authority there. And so too the Servius of Macrobius cites Verrius Flaccus 1, 4, 7; Asinius Pollio, 1, 4, 12; Varro, 1, 4, 14; Ennius, 1, 4, 17; Claudius Quadrigarius, 1, 4, 18; the Twelve Tables, 1, 4, 19, etc. But to return to Probus. Servius says on Aen. 1, 21: in Probi (scil. exemplari Vergilii Aeneidis) adpuncti sunt (scil. *obelo*) et adnotatum: hi duo si eximantur, nihilo minus sensus integer est. In 1, 44 (*'transfixo pectore'*) Probus read *tempore*. In 3, 3 Probus proposed *fumâ't* = *fumâvit* syncopated. Frequently Probus quite fearlessly challenges, if I may so put it, the very Latinity of Vergil; as, 3, 83, *'iungimus hospitio dextras'*, or on 4, 359, *'nemo haurit vocem'*. *'Adnotavit'* also we read of, Probus, 4, 418. Close, it seems, was the consultation extended to Probus.

I would like to ask whence Servius derived the parallels of older latinity; e. g., on *colere* of an inferior by a superior: (Plautus in Poenulo) 1, 16; or, 1, 140: *quod autem dixit 'saxa immania, vestras domos' de Pseudolo Plauti tractum est* etc.; 1, 191, for a use of *turba*, Cicero Verrines, and Plautus Amphitruo are cited; 1, 233, *ob Italiam* = *juxta*: Plautus in Milite and Terence, are cited for this; 1, 378 on *pius* = *religiosus*, parallels from Sallust and Plautus; 1, 435 (*ignavum pecus*: Plautus *clurinum pecus* *simiam* dixit; or was there such vigorous reading of Plautus still practiced by the grammatici? The name of Probus is never mentioned in these parallels; cf. also I 480, 543, 636, 703, 724, 738; II 51, 62, 206, 357; III 42 *scelerare* *polluere*: *et est sermo Plautinus quo hodie non utimur*. Even more abundant than to the usage of Plautus are the references to that of *Terence*. There are a few to Afranius, about twenty-three to Lucilius, to

<sup>1</sup> Cum omnes quasi vetustatis promptuarium Albini memoriam laudavissent, Macrobi. Sat. 1, 4, 1. At Vettius' the company meets in his library 1, 6, 1; vir plurimae lectionis 3, 6, 7; repperi 3, 9, 6 sq.; quod mihi *magistra lectione* compertum est, publicabo, 3, 11, 5; quae tibi memoria crebrae lectionis occurrunt, 3, 18, 1; ex *antiquiorum* lectione, 6, 1, 2; etc., etc.

Naevius about eight; to Ennius, about sixty-eight. Still it would be rash to say that Servius owed this matter to Probus alone, or particularly, even. It is more likely that here too we come upon that ransacking of libraries and that renewal of older reading far beyond the beaten path of the needs of the grammaticus.

I must append here a note as to the personal manner of Servius. Scaliger presumes much condensation of S. by the mediaeval copyists. On the other hand Servius' personal usage and didactic phrase seems to have been quite well preserved. Here there stands forth the phrase *lectum est* (or *legitur*), as the formula of citation and, we may add, demonstration of authority. E. g., *lectum est* in naturali historia Plinii 1, 174; l. e. in historia Poenorum et in Livio 1, 343; *licet* in Sallustio l. sit 1, 380; in ornithogonia 1, 393; in artibus, 1, 535; ut in Bacchidibus (of Eurip.) l. e. 2, 13; in tragoedia *legitur* 2, 20; *habemus* in Livio II 148; de morte Priami varie l. e. 2, 506; *licet* in historia *lectum sit* 2, 615; in Petronio 3, 57; apud chorographos 3, 104; sicut in rhetoricis legimus 4, 284; de Anna et Aenea, apud Varronem: et *licet* . . . plurimum tempus intersit, *lectum tamen est*; quod nusquam *lectum est* 5, 822; nusquam legimus 6, 529; *lectum est* in philologis 7, 1; in iure *lectum est* 7, 38; *lectum non est* 7, 231; omnis lectio docet 8, 638; in Pindaro *lectum est tantum* 10, 312; *lectum est* in disciplina militari 10, 428; usquam l. e. 12, 514; *frenum* raro *lectum est* 12, 568.

## 2.

The simplest way to present Servius as grammaticus and rhetor would be to present an index prepared for this paper, out of the text of Thilo, of his technical nomenclature. The figures are from the Aeneid.

*ab eo quod est* (ἀπὸ τοῦ) I 20; 95; 185; 428; 480; 537; II 145.

*absolute* I 494; IV 184; V 108.

*abusive* I 43; 400; 466; 543; 607; III 357, 438; IV 495;

543; V 682; 721; VI 299; VII 282; IX 175; X 23; 24;

opp. *proprie* XI 644; *abusus* I 433; *abutitur* I 194;

καταχρηστικῶς I 260; 577; II 379; κατάχρησις VII 164.

*acyrologia* I 198; II 628; III 226; IV 419; VII 622; 804.

*amphibolia* III 398; IV 371; VII 637; VIII 76; 299; ἀμφι-

βολία II 31; ἀμφιβολικῶς I 267; *amphibolon* I 492; III 711;

IV 178; V 439.

- ἀνακλόουθον III 478; 541; V 66; 281.  
*antapodosis* (decima) IX 452.  
 ἀντικατηγορία X 36.  
*antiphrasis* I, 139; ἀντίφρασις I 22; III 63; VI 299.  
*antiplosis* I 120; 573; 734; V 609; VI 727.  
*antiqui* I 12; 147; antique IV 575; VI 468; IX 399; X 807;  
 XII 263; vetuste IV 244; XII 517.  
*antistoechon* I 421; antistoichon I 726.  
*antonomasia* I 23; VII 115; antonomasivum II 171; 615; III  
 251; IV 276; X 668.  
*aphaeresis* I 59; 203; 542; 665; III 50; IV 16; XII 285; 372.  
*apocope* I 156; II 661.  
*aposiopesis* II 100; 105; ἀποσιώπησις I 135.  
*archaismos* I 3; 23; II 541; IV 98; X 387; XI 686; XII 316.  
*apostrophæ* II 56; V 123; XII 503.  
*asyndeton* X 659.  
 αὐξησις IV 569.  
*cacenphaton* I 193; cacenphatos sensus VIII 406.  
*cacosyntheton* IX 606.  
*celeuma* III 128 (Cretam proavosque petamus).  
*comparatio* II 223; 496; IV 402.  
 δεικτικῶς I 672; II 289; III 45; XI 115; 734; XII 176;  
 dicticῶς I 106.  
 δημοκρατικῶς I 21.  
*derivatio* I 686.  
*diasyrlice* II 142; oratio diasyrtica II 80; inrisorie III 272.  
*dilemma*, id est complexio quæ adversarium ab utraque parte  
 concludit II 675.  
*diminutive* I 256.  
*diphthongos* I 697.  
*distinguere* (to punctuate) I 475, 548, 607; II 149, 156; 274,  
 294, 394, 705; III 145, 379; IV 660; V 81.  
*ectasis* I 343; X 473.  
*ellipsis* I 65; IV 598; eclipsis IX 51.  
*elocutio* (expression, phrase) I 47; honesta 147; reciproca  
 409; bona II 135; nota 765; soluta III 173; cf. IV 234;  
 373; 494, 536; VII 541; VIII 107, 114, 509; IX 60, 63,  
 166, 272; X 94; vitiosa 586.  
*emphasis* I 37; II 394; 657; III 201; ἐμφατικῶς II 374; 404,  
 643; eloquenter, ἐμφατικῶς IV 103; 440; V 12.  
 ἐν διὰ δυοῖν V 410; VII 15; XI 22, 571; II 627; III 148; 467.

*Epanalepsis* II 394.

*epenthesis* VI 385.

*epitheton* I 4; 23; 51; 53, 118, 127; proprium 224; 323, 355, 444, 464; II 137, 171; perpetuum 250; 335; 510, 593; III 16, 70, 398; IV 5, 180, 190, 345; V 17, 816; VI 202; VII 31.

*exaggeratio* a synonymis II 128.

*exochê* I 740; II 556; κατ' ἐξοχήν III 159.

*figura* (cf. schema) I 6, 22, 41, 65, 75, 77, 104, 146, 206, 241, 561, 579, 589, 658, 669, 713 (Graeca f. II 407); II 478; III 426; honesta IV 401; V 120, 447, 720; VI 239; VII 184; figurate I 212; III 14, 426, 428; IV 219; VI 435; X 135; XI 76; figuratius IV 529; figuratum II 218; figuratis coloribus V 687; Graeca figura I 320; 328; V 285; VI 313.

*homonymum* II 333.

*hypallage* I 9, 392, 518; II 173 (ὑπαλλαγή II 64); II 231, 361, 508; III 62, 362, 418, 424; IV 506; V 137, 458, 507, 589; VI 100, 268, 419, 559; VII 73; VIII 71, 125; IX 529; X 113, 660, 681; XI 18, 458 (= metonymy); XII 187, 340, 621, 690, 739, 859.

*hyperbaton* (v. ordo) III 662; VII 346; VIII 127; longum h. XII 161.

*hyperbole* I 119; III 565; 567, 624 (exaggeratio IV 181); IV 211, 298; V 144; IX 599, 697; XII 856; ὑπερβολικῶς II 501; VII 43.

*hysterologia* II 11; 162; IV 14, 33; IX 813.

*hysteroproteron* I 78, 179; 264; figura ab eo quod praecedit id quod sequitur II 48; 134; 162, 353, 731; III 300; IV 7, 588; VII 813; VIII 85, 201, 593; IX 70, 83.

*ironia* VII 190; εἰρωνικῶς 556.

καθ' ὅλου VI 284.

κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ V 21.

κατ' εὐφημισμὸν I 704.

*lexis* polysemos IV 231.

*litotes* I 77, 387, 479; V 39, 809; VII 9, 261; VIII 299, 627; X 907; XI 430.

*locutio* I 161; l. graeca III 594.

τῶν μέσων I 657; II 106, 140, 165; II 681; IV 91; VII 705; VIII 5, 9, 19; medium XI 344.

*metalepsis* IX 231.



*metaphora* II 19; 629; IV 532; VI 1; translatio VI 429.

*melonymia* III 138.

*nove* VI 353; VII 477, 490; XII 591.

*oeconomia* I 170; (prooeconomia I 226); 312; II 298; 620, 681, 733; (dispensat III 19); (prooec. 491); IV 555; V 27, 45; VI 180; IX 1, 267, 466, 715, 757; XI 486, 489, 511; (praestruxisset 593); XII 15, 124, 266.

*ὁμοιοτέλευτον* I 30, 220; II 56; III 663; IV 558; V 391; VIII 435; homoeoteleuton IX 606; X 571; XII 341.

*ordo* I 53, 65 (servavit ordinem I 76); I 109, 133, 144, 181, 195, 198, 261; ordo autem est longissimus, nam aliter non procedit 'sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli magnanimum Aeneam, tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas, 265; 308, 411, 430, 603; II 40, 128, 143, 220; ordo talis est: invenes, fortissima pectora, frustra succurritis urbi incensae, quia excesserunt omnes dii: unde si vobis cupido certa est, me sequi audentem extrema, moriamur et in media arma ruamus, obscuritatem autem facit hoc loco et *synchysis* id est *hyperbati* longa confusio, et falsa lectio etc. II 348; 355; 384, 535, 738; III 43, 73, 161, 221, 310, 348, 362, 374, 415, 686; IV 105, 174, 211, 393, 520; V 290, 389; est autem *εἰρημός*, id est longissimum hyperbaton, VI 66; 339; *hirmos* est hoc loco, id est, unus sensus protentus per multos versus, 703; VII 120; 346; VIII 15, 174; si ordinaveris, 299; 344; 383; IX 235, 258, 759; X 10, 244, 324, 345, 454, 605, 615, 797, 908; XI 232, 400, 481, 509, 559, 658; XII 64; longum *hyperbaton* 161; 273; 488, 895, 935.

*oxymorum* VII 295.

*parecbasis* X 653.

*παρέλκον* I 207.

*parenthesis* I 65, 308; II 77; VII 73; IX 693.

*periphrasis* id est, circumlocutio I 65; 312; III 134; circumlocutio IV 6; 514; V 695; VI 405; VII 120.

*perissologia* I 658; II 40; V 467; VI 11.

*phantasia* IV 576.

*pleonasmos* I 208, 614; II 524; XI 535; pleonasmus IV 359.

*poetica licentia* I 142, 159; V 553.

*πολυσύνδετος* XI 634.

*principalitas* I 686

*prolepsis* IV 42; VI 900.

- pronuntiandum* I 113, 363, 507; III 367; IV 19, 627; IX 56;  
 XI 163, 258; XII 577; 800.  
*proprietas* I 410; p. verborum, 435.  
*prosa* X 481.  
*prophonesis* IV 408.  
*protentio* II 268.  
*rhetorice* (adv.) I 539.  
*sarcasmos* II 547; X 557; XII 359.  
*scansio* III 292.  
*schema* I 135; bonum II 529; IV 233; IX 85; 771.  
*semiplene loquitur* IV 677.  
*signate* III 317; VII 66; 299; 802; VIII 237.  
*σιωπώμενον, κατὰ τό* I 407; V 282; VI 346; 696.  
*soloecismus* XII 5; soloicophanes I 176; VIII 260; *σολοικο-*  
*φανές* IV 355; *σολοικοειδής* X 10.  
*σωματοποιία* IV 175.  
*subaudire* I 159, 190, 219, 231, 310, 402; (extrinsecus accipere  
 IV 98); IV 109.  
*syllepsis* I 553, 573, 583; V 108; IX 60, 285.  
*synaeresis* II 379; IV 16, 327; VI 104.  
*synalipha* VII 740.  
*synchysis* (cf. ordo, hyperbaton) II 348.  
*syncope* I 26; quae fit, cum de media parte verbi syllaba sub-  
 ducitur I 200; 538; II 147.  
*synecdoche* I 724; II 254; VII 159.  
*synizesis* I 332, 353.  
*systole* VI 644.  
*tapinosis* I 118, 465; II 20, 46, 482; II 197; III 624; VIII  
 242; X 763; attenuatio 9, 780.  
*tautologia* III 524.  
*tnesis* I 412; II 642; V 440, 603; VI 343; IX 337.  
*topographia* I 159.  
*topothesis* I 159.  
*translatio* (v. metaphora) I 53, 63; (t. reciproca I 92) 149, 224,  
 239, 430, 582; II 286 IV 356; VII 572; permansit in  
 translatione XII 248.  
*tropus* I 114; II 256.  
*ὑπερθεσις* V 5.  
*ὑπόκρισις* X 75.  
*ὑφ' ἐν* I 198; V 35; hyphen IV 8.  
*usurpatio* (arbitrary writing) I 587; V 233; cf. VII 289; usur-

patum est II 513; VII 188; IV 687; X 63; usurpative (opp. naturaliter) I 121, 458; III 539; XI 522.

*veteres* I 155, 211.

*vetuste* I 6, 378.

*zeugma* I 120; III 133, 260; IX 530; XII 316, 436; XII 576.

We see the technical side of literary scholarship in the classroom of the Latin grammaticus remained what it had been from the beginning, not the child merely of Greek, but the veritable creature of the same. A comparison with the range of Porphyrio on Horace would be interesting, but there is no space here for such.

Whenever Servius strives to give a good equivalent in phrase or term he generally draws on the Greek outright: e. g., 'animis' τοῖς θυμοῖς I 11; colonia ἀποικία I 12; laeti πρόθυμοι I 35; sonoras: ut θάλασσά τε ἠχέεσσα I 53; et graeci φρικτὰ dicunt quae sunt timenda I 92; vada, τὰ βράχεια I 112; pronus πρηνής I 115; quod Graeci τρικυμίαν appellant I 116; hiems χειμῶν I 125. Cymothoë ἀπὸ τοῦ θέειν τὸ κύμα I 144; aëna χάλκεα I 213; virtute τῇ δυνάμει; alibi τῇ βίᾳ I 270, etc. Urbicus at Burdigala was a 'Grammaticus Latinus et Graecus' (Ausonius Peiper, p. 67). And Ausonius, the correspondent of Symmachus, recognizes these further categories in the teacher's profession: Rhetor, Grammaticus, Grammaticus Graecus, Grammaticus Latinus, Philologus Grammaticus et Rhetor, subdoctor, orator (highest honor of all).

## 3.

That Servius had the attainments of a rhetor I will presently set forth. Of the ancillary and artificial relation which fine literature had to the professional study of rhetoric I need not speak. It began probably with Tisias and Corax. So Homer and all the school classics were analysed to furnish material for the rhetor's τέχνη. In the first lessons came regularly the Homeric description of the different manner of discourse as exhibited by Menelaus and by Odysseus. Il. 3, 212 sqq., ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μύθους καὶ μῆδεα πᾶσιν ὑφαίνον κ. τ. ε., where the scholion: τρεῖς τρόπους ῥητορείας οἶδεν Ὅμηρος, etc., the type of Lysias, of Demosthenes and of Isocrates. For 'copia verborum', and φράσιν facere (Quintil. X 1, 42) was not the only use of literature. And so the somewhat overrated valuations of Quintilian, of Dionysius, of the author περὶ ὑψους all labor from that professional bias.

Thus then we find that Servius is a master of this field, too; he cites two professionals: 'Titianus et Calvus, *qui themata omnia de Vergilio elicuerunt et deformarunt, in exemplo controversiarum*, has duas posuerunt adlocutiones', X 18.

Let me endeavor to cite the rhetorical notes of Servius with some regard for the system, the *τέχνη*: tria genera dicendi, humile, medium, grandiloquum, Aen. pref., p. 4; humilis character, qui *λαγνός* dicitur, I 701; Venus medio usa est genere loquendi X 60; servavit τὸ πένον I 92; 738; III 9; 472; VIII 127; IX 775; XII 443; τὸ πένοντι IV 170; et hoc principium quidem *acephalon* dicunt I 94; exordium in duo dividitur IV 284; et est rhetorica persuasio, nam principium ab utriusque persona sumpsit VIII 127; solent enim graviora in principiis et in fine secundum artem rhetoricam poni X 38; insinuatione utetur XI 411; bonum principium XII 11; et bene servat circa hunc rhetoricam definitionem . . . . orator enim est vir bonus, dicendi peritus I 151; benevolentia in the exordium I 522; est argumentum ab impossibili I 223; argumentum ab impossibili I 529; *loci* of laudatio I 606; commendat ex loci difficultate I 647; utile II 289; honestum 291; possibile 294; a tempore: ab invitis diis II 638; laus a maioribus, l. a. cognatione II 787; excusatio a voluntate III 25; argumentum a facili III 116; a. a necessitate III 161; a necessario et utili III 188; rhetorica esse argumenta, quae a contrariis laudant III 476; a verisimili IV 352; declamavit per contrarium IV 373; vituperatio Troianorum, in qua utitur argumentis quae in rhetoricis commemorat Cicero IX 611; declamatorie hos versus explicuit X 230; argumentatur a facili X 375; a fortiore X 541; oratorie agit XI 343, 378; laudat ex gente XI 432; elements of *laus* XII 277; argumentum a necessario XII 637; rhetoricum (i. e. in the genus deliberativum) est, in omni petitione hoc observare, et est controversiae schema II 69; cf. 135; nota omnes suasoriae partes hoc loco contineri II 288 rhetorica suasio II 638; notandum sane quia controversiarum more epilogos dedit sex istis prioribus libris quos et esse *bioticos* voluit III 718; suasoria est omni parte plena IV 31; haec oratio rhetorica suasio est VIII 374; et est *color* qui in *coniecturali statu* saepe requiritur II 150; veniali utitur *statu* IV 333; remoto ingrati crimine descendit ad causam IV 337; quasi *status* finis latens IV 339; invectio quae semper *statu* caret IV 364; ὅπος βίαιος, argumentatur enim V 383; veniali (scil. statu) utitur VI 456; de qualitate transit ad finem VII 367; statum esse absolu-

tum X 31; est status finitivus X 68; agit coniectura XI 392; et finita oratione subiungit epilogos II 141; πάθος III 364; IV 1; I 26; misericordia captatur a luco III 646, movet miserationem ab aetate VII 531; pathos fecit VII 374; paene omnes partes habet de misericordia commovenda a Cicerone in rhetoricis positas IX 479; pathos per personam poetae proferendum IX 725; pathos ex aetate movit IX 748; nam hoc praecipit ars rhetorica ut epilogi, etc. X 55; locis omnibus (τόποις EGS.) commovet commiserationem, ab aetate, a tempore, a vulnere, a spe parentis XI 42; 243; ex aetate πάθος movit XII 611; haec et vicem epilogi possunt obtinere III 314; σχῆμα διαβολάς II 413; oratorie ibi finivit, ubi vis argumenti constet IV 361; bono colore IV 613; hoc colore futuram orationem ostendit IX 124; color est IV 128; Statius hinc trahens colorem IX 212; hinc traxit colorem Iuvenalis IX 495; ad *auxesin* illius qui occidendus fuerat IX 702.

*Note.* Public worship in the temples of the pagans, during day-time or night, either, was prohibited by Theodosius in 381, v. Clinton *Fasti Romani*, vol. 1, p. 503, column 3. Gregorovius is ill pleased with him for this. James Russell Lowell's phrase of 'murdered paganism' is not felicitous, however sententious, and not at all historically profound. There are two passages in Servius and in Macrobius, which seem to imply that *cremation* of human corpses was forbidden by an imperial constitution. Serv. 6, Aen. 224 . . . , "Per noctem autem urebantur (why not uruntur) unde et permansit ut mortuos faces antecedant". Add on Aen. III 68 '*Romani contra faciebant, comburentes cadavera*' . . . . To this add Macrobi. Sat. 7, 7, 4: *deinde licet urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro saeculo nullus sit, lectio tamen docet. . . .*

E. G. SIHLER.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, March 30, 1909.



## II.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

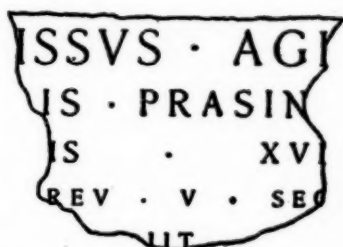
### IV.

The preceding articles of this series appeared in this Journal, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 450 ff., XXX, 1909, pp. 61 ff. and 153 ff. The present paper is devoted to two inscriptions of *agitatores circenses*, one of a *servus publicus* and several of *officiales et artifices* either of emperors or of private individuals.

22. Small columbarium tablet (*ansata*) of white marble, measuring m. 0,25 wide and 0,14 high. It was recently discovered at Rome, outside the Porta Salaria. The holes at the sides preserve the rusted remains of the nails by which the tablet was attached to the wall. The inscription is rather poorly cut in a somewhat vulgar style.

EVHEMERVS  
AGITATOR  
OLLAS III

23. Fragment of the sepulchral inscription of a jockey from the circus. The stone comes from Rome and measures in its largest dimensions m. 0,123 in width and 0,125 in height. The text, so far as preserved, is as follows:



.... issus agi[tator | faction]is prasin[ae] ..... | .... is xvi  
..... | .... rev(ocatus quinquies), sec .... | .... [tu]lit.

The obvious supplements at the end of the first line and at the beginning of the second make it easy to estimate approximately the measurements of the missing parts, namely, about m. 0,07 on the left side and 0,10 on the right. Among the names that suggest themselves for the beginning of the first line, e. g., Cyparissus, Melissus, and Narcissus, the last is both most suitable for the available space and the most common as a name for slaves and freedmen. Traces of I after XV at the end of the third line show that the numeral was at least XVI and may have been even XVIII. As the jockeys of the circus often met early and presumably violent deaths,<sup>1</sup> it is not unlikely that this number represents the length of life in this case. The unused space, too, in the third line sets it apart from the record of achievements, in which the words are abbreviated and crowded. The probable restoration, therefore, is [Narc]issus, agi[tator | faction]is prasin[ae vixit | ann]is XVI[III(?) | vic(it toties)], rev(ocatus quinquies), sec[und(as toties) | tert(ias toties) tu]lit. Other examples of *revocatus* used in this connection are found in C. I. L., VI, 10051, 33950, and A. J. Arch., X, 1906, p. 157.

24. The stone next to be considered was probably intended to be placed above the door of a tomb and, like number seven (A. J. P., XXX, 1909, p. 153), was furnished with two narrow perpendicular openings to admit the light and to give ventilation.<sup>2</sup> The projecting corners on the right at the top and on the left at the bottom together with the roughly broken surfaces at the other corners make this perfectly clear. The tablet, which was found about three years ago outside the porta Salaria, now measures m. 0,445 in width and 0,315 in height, and has cut upon it the inscription, which is enclosed by a frame or cornice. Two of the letters, however, run over on the margin. The text is as follows :

<sup>1</sup> C. I. L., VI, 10059, at 18 years; ib. 10049, *δ*, at 20 years; ib. 10050 at 22 years; ib. 33950, at 24 years.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to Bartoli's illustration referred to under number 7, see Canina, *Edifici di Roma*, IV, pl. cclxxxii, where a columbarium on the via Aurelia is represented with such a stone over the entrance. Compare also C. I. L., VI, 29034.



D(is) M(anibus). Attiae Epagatho, filiae dulcissimae, quae vixit ann(is) tribus), m(ensibus octo), d(iebus quattuor), fec(it) Epagathus, servus public(us) ad Iuturna(e), et Attiae Felicitati, coniugi benemeren(ti), et sibi et suis posterisq(ue) eorum.

It is a well-known fact that the slaves of the state were employed in public buildings in such functions as that of caretaker.<sup>1</sup> When attached to a temple they were usually known as *aeditui*, though the *aedituus* was as likely to be a freedman as a slave.<sup>2</sup> Thus our *servus publicus ad Iuturnae* might also have been called *aedituus a sacrario Iuturnae*. In C. I. L., VI, 2330 Successus Valerius is *publicus a sacrario* and *publicus aedituus a sacrario divi Augusti*. In addition to the temple of Augustus and the sanctuary of Iuturna, the temple of Vesta also was guarded by a slave of the state who had quarters there.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to the usual custom, Epagathus has only one name, though the *servus publicus* usually had two, the second being derived from that of his former master.<sup>4</sup> Other examples, however, of the single name occur, as in C. I. L., VI, 2331, 2332, 2334, 2360, and 2374. Another interesting point in this case is that the

<sup>1</sup> E. g., C. I. L., VI, 2348, *servus publicus de porticu Octaviae a bibliotheca Graeca*. Cf. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> De Ruggiero, *Dizion. Epig.*, I, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Tac., *Hist.*, I, 43.

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen, *St. R.*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 323, n. 3.

name of the father was conferred on the daughter as a cognomen in the feminine form Epagatho. As a rule the wife of the *publicus*, almost always called *coniux* on the stones, is a freed-woman and the children of such unions regularly have the *nomen* of the mother but no name to suggest their paternity.<sup>1</sup> In one case, indeed, the marriage is regarded as illegal and the son put down as fatherless, though the name of his father actually appears on the stone.<sup>2</sup> In rare instances, however, the child of a slave of the state was given as a cognomen either the father's name or, as here, a feminine form of it. For example, in C. I. L., VI, 2316 Vivenia L. f. Helias is the daughter of Helius Afinianus publicus, ib. 2334 C. Vibius Threptus is the son of Threptus publicus and Vibia Epiteuxis, and ib. 2374 Ti. Claudius Threptus is the son of Threptus publicus and Claudia Spes. The feminine Epagatho was usually inflected in Latin as an *-n* stem; e. g., C. I. L., VI, 21848, Magniae Epagathoni coniugi; here, however, we have a Latinized form of the Greek dative, which even in Greek inscriptions occasionally appears without the iota; e. g., C. I. G., III, 4287, 'Επαγαθῶ.

This adds one more to the very small number of Italian examples of the *ascia* carved on the tombstone.<sup>3</sup> It is well known that the representation of this tool, with or without such phrases as *sub ascia dedicare* is characteristic of the sepulchral inscriptions of Gaul, especially of Gallia Narbonensis. Its original significance is by no means clear. In the opinion of many scholars it indicated that the structure was new and not yet complete at the time of dedication, but it seems quite as likely that it was a sacred symbol, carved on the tombs in accordance with some very ancient Celtic custom to place them under divine protection and warn violators of the wrath of the gods.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *St. R.*, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 324, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. L., VI, 2310, M. Herennius, Sp. f., Esq., Fatalis (son of Herennia Bonitas and Andronicus Fulvianus, publicus).

<sup>3</sup> See list of occurrences in De Ruggiero, *Dizion. Epig.*, I, 713. There are three more examples in the Johns Hopkins University collection, two carved at the top of an inscription as in the present case, and one below a sepulchral relief without inscription.

<sup>4</sup> This is the view of Hirschfeld in C. I. L., XIII, p. 256. For other theories, see Mau, in Pauly-Wissowa (s. v.) and De Ruggiero, l. c.

25. Tablet of white marble (m. 0.575 wide X 0.55 high) surrounded by the conventional moulding or cornice: found at Rome in the early part of 1909. The inscription reads as follows:

TI · CLAVDIO · AVG · L · EVNO  
 NERONIS · AVG · CVNARIO  
 TI · IVLIO · AVG · L · SECVNDO  
 MEDICO · AVRICVLARIO  
 CLAVDIAE · AVG · L · CEDNE · MAMMAE  
 CLAVDIAE · HERMIONE · VERNAE · SVAE  
 TI · IVLIVS · EVNVS · TI · CLAVDIVS  
 DEVTER · FECERVNT · PARENTIBVS · SVIS  
 TI · CLAVDIO · FELICI · VERNAE · SVO

LIBERTIS · LIBERTABVSQVE · POSTERIS · SVIS

The letters are cut with great care in a good monumental style of the first century, though they are somewhat crowded especially in the latter part. After the completion of eight lines the concluding words were placed at the very bottom of the stone, leaving a space of about three lines for the subsequent addition of other names. Only one such name was added (line 9) and that by a less skilful hand in a style which approaches the *scriptura actuarial*.

Most of the proper names which are found on this stone are fairly common. Deuter usually appears in the form Deuterus, though Deuter does occur, as for example in C. I. L., V, 2611, M. Cominius, M. l., Deuter. Cedne is a peculiarly appropriate name for a good woman (*κεδνή*), but I have not met with it elsewhere. The chief interest of this inscription, however, lies in the titles of the two husbands of Claudia Cedne, one of them like herself manumitted by the emperor Claudius, the other a freedman of Tiberius. The word *cunarius* comes to light here for the first time, though the feminine form is known from C. I. L., VI, 27134, D(is) M(anibus) Teiae Threpte soror(is) piissimae, cunariae Rufinae V(irginis) V(estalis), etc. Mommsen's note on this



point is "Cunariae vocabulum videtur derivatum a communione cunae, idemque fere significare ac collectaneae", and this definition is accepted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (s. v.). But the new example shows clearly that Mommsen's view is untenable and gives support to the suggestion already made by De Ruggiero (*Dizion. Epig.* s. v.), namely that *cunaria*, and so also now *cunarius*, designates the slave who had charge of the child in its earliest years. "The hand that rocks the cradle" has another good ancient equivalent in Martial, XI, 39, 1, *Cunarum fueras motor*, Charideme, mearum *Et pueri custos adsiduusque comes*. The other title, *medicus auricularius*, gives further evidence for the well known fact that medical specialists are not peculiar to our own times. This appears also from Ulpian (*Dig. L.* 13, 1, 3), *medicos fortassis quis accipiet etiam eos, qui alicuius partis corporis vel certi doloris sanitatem pollicentur: ut puta si auricularius, si fistulae vel dentium*. Another *medicus auricularius* occurs in C. I. L., VI, 8908, *medici ocularii* ib. 3987, 8909, 8910, 9605-9609, and 33880, and *medici chirurgi* ib. 3986, 4350, and 33882.

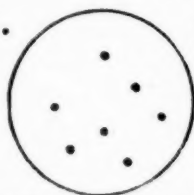
The instances of *mamma*, the children's word for *mater*, are so numerous in the inscriptions and elsewhere that this one calls for no comment.

26. The other inscription of this class connected with the imperial household is engraved on a rectangular tablet of marble m. 0,195 wide and 0,18 high, which was used as the cover of a cinerary urn. In the centre is the usual cup-like cavity (m. 0,085 in diameter) with seven perforations in the bottom, through which the libations to the dead could be poured. It was found about three years ago outside the porta Salaria. The text reads as follows:

TIGRVTI · CAESA  
RIS · VNCTORI

V · A ·

XXX



CLAVDIA · SOTERIS  
BENE · MERENTI

The name in the first line, *Tigruti*, is quite new to me and may perhaps be of oriental origin. If it is to be associated in any way with *Tigris*, the formation is unnatural. It has occurred to me that it might possibly be a vulgar spelling for *Tigridi*, the dative of *Tigris*, which is found as a man's name in inscriptions; e. g., C. I. L., III, 10531. But the accuracy of the text in all other respects as well as the rather careful cutting and comparatively early date of the inscription (second century?) are against such an assumption. The name *Soteris* is very common: even a Claudia Soteris occurs in C. I. L., VI, 15596. Other *unctores Caesaris* are found in C. I. L., VI, 9093 ff.

27. Small tablet of grey marble made from an architectural molding: found about three years ago (1906) outside the porta Salaria. The left side of it is missing but the extant portion, measuring m. 0,17 in width at the bottom and 0,085 in height, has the following inscription carved in a somewhat vulgar style of a rather late period (third century?):

CI AVDIVS · SABINVS  
*fec* IT · PATRI SVO  
 ARMAMINTARIO (sic)

Available information about the *armamentarii* is very meagre, but at Rome they were probably in charge of the arsenal at the praetorian camp.<sup>1</sup> *Scribae armamentari* made a dedication to Antoninus Pius in the year 138 (C. I. L., VI, 999) and a *decuria armamentaria* is mentioned in V, 1883 as well as an *architectus armamentari* in VI, 2725.<sup>2</sup> Other inscriptions bearing on the subject are given in De Ruggiero, *Dizion. Epig.*, s. v.

28. Our next inscription is engraved on a marble tablet (m. 0,37 wide and 0,115 high) which is said to have come to light outside of the porta Salaria about three years ago (1906). It is clearly from a columbarium and the two nails by which it was fastened to the wall, are still preserved. The stone was broken into three pieces, of which one has disappeared carrying

<sup>1</sup> Seneca, *Dial.*, IX, 3, 5 (among military duties) qui—armamentario praeest

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des röm. Heeres*, p. 25.

with it at least one letter and part of a second from the last line.  
The text is as follows:

THELXIS · COTTIA · <sup>v</sup>CHELVS · COTTIAE  
SORORES · GEMELLAE · AMANTISSIMAE  
CANTRICES · CĀRAE · VTRAEQVE SVEIS

The letters are well and regularly formed and evidently belong to a good period, probably to the first century. The use of EI for long I in SVEIS, a phenomenon which is rare after 50 A. D., and the apex on CĀRAE are to be noted. The small v added above the first line doubtless stands for *viva*<sup>1</sup> and indicates that Chelys, a slave of Cottia,<sup>2</sup> while still living, purchased the niche for her dead sister and for herself. The two names Θελξίς and Χελυς are peculiarly appropriate and suggestive for musicians,<sup>3</sup> though neither of them seems to be attested as a proper name in Greek. One of the Sirens, however, was Θελξίπειρα and one of the four Muses was Θελξινόη, so that the connection is obvious.<sup>4</sup> Thelxis as a proper name in Latin has not come to my notice elsewhere: Thelge serva of C. I. L., VI, 27349 is the nearest approach to it. But with Chelys the case is quite different. A word which was so commonly used by the Roman poets of the empire for the lyre, was in all probability frequently taken as a personal name; e. g., C. I. L., VI, 5014, Rantia Chelys and ib. 19365 Chelys mater. Other *cantrices* are Peloris in C. I. L., VI, 9230; Quintia, ib. 33794; and Chrysanthē, ib. 7285.

29. From Rome also comes a small columbarium tablet (m. 0,20 wide and 0,145 high) with a hole at the left side for one of the nails that fastened it to the wall. The right side of the

<sup>1</sup> Such cases are not rare: e. g., see C. I. L., VI, 27131.

<sup>2</sup> Cottia Galla is the name of the daughter of A. Cottius, proconsul of Spain in C. I. L., VI, 1396.

<sup>3</sup> The names of female slaves and in general of women of the lower classes are often suggestive in this way. Examples are Ovid, Am. I, 8, 2 f., Dipsas . . . ex re nomen habet and Iuv. 10, 238, Phiale.

<sup>4</sup> Pape, griech. Eigennamen, s. vv. Cf. Cic., N. D., III, 54 with Mayor's note.

stone with part of the inscription is missing and if we may assume that the single word of the second line was symmetrically placed in the middle—a perfectly fair assumption in the case of a well cut inscription of the first century—then the lost portion was exactly five centimeters in width and had space for such restorations as I have added below.

P O P I L L I A E ·	○ ·	lib(ertae)
I V C V N D A E		
C L E M E N S · S E X T I L I A		e ser(vus)
D I S P E N S A T · S O R O R I		suae
L O C V M · E T · O L L A M · D E D		it

An interesting possibility arises in connection with this inscription, namely, that Sextilia, the mistress of Clemens, may be none other than the mother of the emperor Vitellius, whom Suetonius describes as *probatissima nec ignobilis femina*<sup>1</sup> and Tacitus characterizes as *antiqui moris*.<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions we meet with *dispensatores* of Livia, of Antonia, the wife of Drusus, of Agrippina the younger, of Messallina, of Octavia, the wife of Nero, and of other prominent women in the imperial circles of the first century.<sup>3</sup> The *gens Popillia*, too, is well attested and the forms of the letters, though somewhat influenced by the *scriptura vulgaris*, are perfectly suitable to the period. There is therefore no inherent improbability in the assumption that this Sextilia was the wife of the consul L. Vitellius and mother of the emperor, though, of course, such identifications do not admit of proof. Clemens and Iucunda are very common as *cognomina*: even a Popillia Iucunda occurs in C. I. L., VI, 5918.<sup>4</sup>

30. In the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1905, p. 82, Gatti described a small columbarium then recently discovered during the excavations connected with the construction of a sewer in the vicinity of the new Corso di porta Pinciana. In this columbarium were the usual semicircular niches with two urns, a rectangular niche with five urns, and in the middle of the north wall, facing the entrance,

<sup>1</sup> Vitell. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. II, 64.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. L., VI, 3965 f. 4332. 8720. 8840. 8827.

<sup>4</sup> For a general treatment of the *dispensatores*, see Liebenam's article in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v.

a small shrine (m. 0,37 wide and 0,75 high) with traces of painted stucco still adhering to the bricks. Below the shrine, fastened in its place, was a small tablet of marble (m. 0,325 wide and 0,187 high) bearing the following finely carved inscription, which is now in Baltimore in my possession.<sup>1</sup>

Q · CAECILIVS · CAECILIAE  
 CRASSI · L · HILARVS · MEDIQ·  
 CAECILIA · DVARVM  
 SCRIBONIARVM · L  
 ELEV THERIS  
 EX · PARTEM · DIMIDIAE · SIBI · E · SVI s (sic)

Two other inscribed tablets, attached to niches in the same wall, record the names of other members of the same *familia*, namely, NICAEPHOR · CAECILIAES | CRASSI · ARGENTARIVS | ET · CALPIS · FILIA and Q · CAECILIVS · Q · L | ATTALVS. From these inscriptions it is clear that one half<sup>2</sup> of the columbarium belonged to freedmen and slaves of Caecilia Metella, daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul in the year 69 B. C., and wife of Crassus, probably M. Crassus, the second son of the triumvir.<sup>3</sup> The only other extant inscription in which her name appears is that which is still attached to the outer wall of her huge tomb on the Via Appia.<sup>4</sup> One of her freedmen, Q. Caecilius Hilarus, seems to have had as his wife Caecilia Eleutheris, who was a freedwoman of two Scriboniae.<sup>5</sup> These may well have been, as Gatti suggests,<sup>6</sup> the two most famous women of this name,<sup>7</sup> Scribonia, the first wife of

<sup>1</sup> This inscription has been published also in Bull. Com., 1905, p. 168 and in L'Année Épig., 1905, p. 51, no. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions which show similar partnership in tombs are common; e. g., Notizie degli Scavi, 1904, p. 441, ex parte dimi(dia); C. I. L., XIV, 1135, ex parte tōta, and ib. indices, p. 602.

<sup>3</sup> Drumann, Geschichte Roms, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 45 and Huelsen, Neue Heidelb. Jahrbücher, VI, 50 ff.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. L., VI, 1274, CAECILIA · Q · CRETICI · F · CRASSI.

<sup>5</sup> The wife in this case gave up the name of her patronesses and apparently took that of her husband: cf. Marquardt-Mau, Privatleben, p. 18, notes 1 and 4.

<sup>6</sup> Bull. Com., 1905, p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> Stemma in Pros. Imp. Rom., III, p. 185.



Octavianus, divorced in 39 B. C., and her niece, the wife of Sextus Pompeius. Chronologically, this is perfectly possible, but the name was common and the identification is correspondingly uncertain. Exact parallels to the fully expressed *duarum Scriboniarum l(iberta)* are found in Notizie degli Scavi, 1902, p. 381, [Pr]iscus duor(um) | [D]omitiorum (servus) and ib. 1905, p. 16, Licinia, duorum Licin(iorum l.) Saturninae. It is well known that the physicians at Rome were usually slaves or freedmen: see the inscriptions of *medici* in C. I. L., VI, 9568 ff.

31. Small marble altar (m. 0,24 wide, 0,50 high and 0,17 thick) with the usual moldings, volutes at the top, and *urceus* and *palera* on the sides. It is said to have been discovered at Rome outside the Porta Salaria. The text, cut in fairly good letters probably of the second century, runs as follows:

D    *B*    M  
 C · COMISIO · SVCCESSE  
 NEGOTIANTI · PORTO  
 VINARIO · LAGONARI  
*urceus* COMISIA · FECVND A *palera*  
 CONIVGI · ET · CONLIBER  
 TO · B *B* M · FECIT  
 ET · SIBI · POSTERISQVE  
 SVORVM

This adds one more to the very few inscriptions in which the *gens Comisia* is attested. The ordinary books of reference and the indices of the Corpus record only four persons of this name: V, 3441, Comisia Ariadne; ib. 7823, Comisia Tranquillina; VI, 16055, C. Comisius Helpistus and Comisia C. f. *Negotians* or *negotiator* with a second title to give closer definition is not unusual, e. g., VI, 9677 *negotians salsarius*, XI, 1620, *negotians materiarius*, and III, 2131, *negotiator vinarius*. Sometimes, too, as in this case, a local name is added, e. g., XIV, 409, *negotiatores vinarii ab urbe*; ib. 318, qq. *corporis vin(ariorum) urb(anorum) et Ost(iensium)*; IX, 4680, *negotiator vinarius a septem Caesaribus*; VI, 9993, *vinarius de Velabro*. The -o- stem ablative of

*portus* occurs again on a stamped brick, XV, 409, de Porto Parrae.

More interesting is the use of *lagonaris*, which, so far as I am aware, is a word hitherto unknown from the inscriptions, though its meaning in this connection is perfectly clear. In fact, the only recorded example of its use seems to be the one cited by Forcellini from the *Gromatici Veteres* (p. 344, 25), *Terminus laguenaris vel orcularis, id est laguna vel orcula, distant a se in ped. LIII*, which is explained by *id. p. 346, 19, laguenas et orculas in finibus posuimus*. According to the rule laid down by Charisius (Keil, p. 76) we should have expected *lagonarius* rather than *lagonaris* in this inscription, but such distinctions were little observed in the more popular spheres of the language and the mental transfer from *vinum lagonare* to *vinarius lagonaris* is easy and natural.

32. From the same region outside the porta Salaria comes a small tablet (m. 0,275 wide and 0,14 high) with the following inscription cut deeply but in a somewhat vulgar style. The letters still preserve traces of minium.

#### OSSA

ARISTARCHI · L(*iberti*)

NOMENCLAT(*oris*)

The name Aristarchus does not appear in the sixth volume of the *Corpus* and rarely elsewhere in the inscriptions, but it is common in Greek and must have been fairly common as a slave's name in Latin. The inscriptions of *nomenclatores* are found in C. I. L., VI, 8930-8940. 33782 (*Augusti*) and *ib. 9687-9703 (privatorum)*: to these may be added one recently published in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, p. 288. The existence of a professional corporation among the *nomenclatores* has lately been shown by B. L. Ullman from an inscription which he found along with others copied in a fifteenth century manuscript, *Vaticanus-Ottobonianus 1550*.<sup>1</sup> This inscription mentions the *collegium salutare nomenclatorum* and makes possible the restoration of the same *collegium* in C. I. L., VI, 1013.

33. Probably from the same region outside the porta Salaria comes part of a marble tablet, which appeared in Rome in the

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Philology*, IV, 1909, p. 193.

year 1906. A fragment of about fifteen centimeters in width is missing at the right side, but the extant portion (m. 0,255 wide, 0,25 high, and 0,08 thick) preserves most of the inscription, which was enclosed by the usual sculptured frame or cornice. The text together with suggested restorations is as follows :

SEX · TE DIV	s	Sex. l.
ÁNTE	ros	
TE DIA · SEX	l.	.....
OPSTETRI	x	

In the second line a trace of the perpendicular hasta of R is visible at the bottom and in the third line the cognomen of Teidia is needed to fill out the space. The apex on Ánteros is striking and adds a new example to the short list of vowels with the apex before NT given by Christiansen.<sup>1</sup> The letters are well formed in a monumental style of the first century. It is therefore probable that we have here a freedman and a freedwoman of Sex. Teidius Valerius Catullus, who was *consul suffectus* in the year 31 A. D.<sup>2</sup> In C. I. L., VI, 21363 there is a [PAVLL]A(?) TEIDIA · SEX · F, whom Borghesi<sup>3</sup> took to be the daughter of this consul, and ib. 36408, TEIDIAE · SEX · L | DORAE seems to refer to one of his freedwomen. The spelling Teidius for the consul's name is better attested in the inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> though it appears as Tedius in C. I. L., XIV, 2466. As in this case, so almost always the *obstetrix* is a freedwoman: compare C. I. L., VI, 9720-9725 (note). 8947-8949.

34. Another inscription from Rome is engraved on a tablet of marble—now broken into two parts—the bottom of which was cut in the form of a curve to fit the arched top of the niche beneath it in the tomb. At each side of the tablet is a hole for one of the nails which fastened it to the wall and the corroded remains of one nail still adhere to the stone on the left side. The inscription is enclosed by deeply cut lines in the form of the ordinary *tabula ansata*. These lines as well as the letters them-

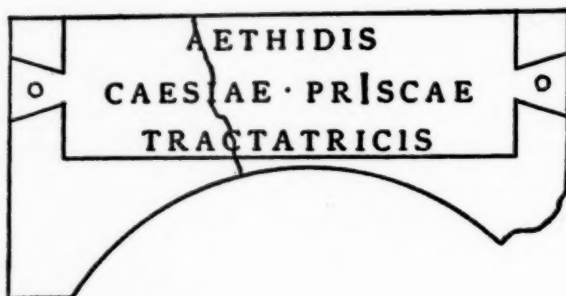
<sup>1</sup> De apicibus, etc., pp. 57 f.

<sup>2</sup> Pros. Imp. Rom., III, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Oeuvres, V, p. 336. Dessau, however, thinks the inscription too early for this identification.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. L., I<sup>2</sup>, p. 71; X, 1233.

selves still show abundant traces of minium. The tablet is m. 0,295 in width and 0,127 in height at the middle, 0,19 at the left side, and the text, which is cut in a somewhat vulgar style, reads as follows:



A *tractator* is already known from C. I. L., VI, 32775. (=33131) Ti. Iulio, Aug. lib., | Xantho, tractatori | Ti. Caesaris et | divi Claudii, but a *tractatrix*, so far as I have observed, occurs here for the first time on the stones. If there were any doubt as to her particular functions, it would be cleared up by Martial, III, 82, 13 f.

Percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix  
Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris.

Similarly, though in a less definite fashion, Seneca describes the functions of the *tractator* (Ep. VII, 4 (66), 53).

The name Aethis does not seem to be attested elsewhere either in Latin or in Greek, but it is evidently of Greek origin (*αἶθω*) and bears the same relation to *Αἶθος* and *Αἶθη* as *Δαφνίς* to *Δάφνος* and *Δάφνη*. Such feminines in *-is* are sometimes diminutive in force,<sup>1</sup> so that Aethis seems most appropriate as the name of a favorite slave of a Roman lady. The *gens Caesia* is well known from an early period onward and even several Caesii Prisci are on record. For example, a Caesius Priscus was once governor of Syria (C. I. G., 4460), P. Caesius, Sex. f., Pom., Priscus occurs in an inscription from the *ager Atinas* (C. I. L., X, 387), M. Caesius, Q. f., Ani., Priscus, a soldier, raised a stone to his wife at Aquileia (ib. V, 902), and a Caesius Priscus from Rome is to be found below in number 37. One Caesia Prisca, too, appears at Beneventum (ib. IX, 1700) and another at Septempeda (ib. IX,

<sup>1</sup> Bechtel, Die attischen Frauennamen, p. 102, n. 2.

5594), but there is no reason to identify either of them with the lady of our inscription.

35. In C. I. L., VI, 10001/2 Bormann published two inscriptions from a monument erected near the Via Salaria by Domitia Plecusa to her husband, C. Popillius Anthus. With the exception of slight differences in reading and in the division into lines, the two stones bear exactly the same text. Another copy of this inscription was found about three years ago in the same neighborhood and doubtless belonged to the same monument. It is engraved on a marble tablet, which measures m. 0,335 in width and 0,41 in height, and is enclosed by the usual molding. The text, which corresponds so closely to number 10002 that at first sight I took it to be the same, covers the upper portion of the stone<sup>1</sup> and reads as follows:

DOMITIA · D · L · PLECVSA  
 MONVMENTVM · FECIT  
 C · POPILLIO · ANTHO  
 VNGVENTARIO · VIRO · SVO  
 CVM · QVO · VIXIT · ANNOS · XXXV  
 ET · C · POPILLIVS · C · C · L · HERMER  
 LIBERTVS

The variant readings of number 10002 are VIXIT and XXXV (l. 5) and HERMEROS (l. 6) and points of the leaf form which occur in six places (ll. 2, 3, and 5). The persons mentioned cannot be definitely identified, though it seems quite likely that this Domitia Plecusa bears some relation to the Domitia Plecusa of that most perplexing inscription, C. I. L., VI, 16988. The two stones were found in the same place (in vinea ss. Praedicatorum ad viam Salariam), but the period to which the Baltimore inscription belongs is probably much later than the time of Domitia Calvina, the daughter of Bibulus.<sup>2</sup> Still, on account of

<sup>1</sup> Space for two or three more lines was left at the bottom. At my request Dr. R. V. D. Magoffin visited the German Institute in Rome in August, 1909, and copied the two previously published inscriptions, which are still in the garden there.

<sup>2</sup> Pros. Imp. Rom., no. 158; cf. note on C. I. L., VI, 16988.



the somewhat vulgar style in which the letters are cut, I should not be so sure of the date as to deny the possibility even of identification. Other inscriptions of *unguentarii* are found in C. I. L., VI, 9998-10007 (note) and 33928.

36. Tablet of marble (m. 0.495 wide and 0.13 high) discovered at Rome outside the Porta Salaria. Traces of the nails by which it was attached to the wall of the columbarium remain at either end. The two inscriptions on the stone are surrounded by a carved border of conventional pattern and separated by a perpendicular ornamental line which divides the surface into two equal parts. The text, which is finely cut in letters of a good period, runs as follows:

EPHYRE · CESTILIAES ·	·	CESTILIA ·	·	·	L · CHRESTE
VESTISPICA · PINI · LIB ·	·	·	·	·	VESTISPICA · PINI
NON · DVM · BIS · DENOS · ANNVS · CONPLEVERAT · ANNOS ·	·	·	·	·	LIB
TRISTIA · PRAETVLHERVNT · CVM · MIHI · FATA · NECEM ·	·	·	·	·	
DISCITI · MORTALES · IN · SPEM · NON · VIVERE · LONGAM ·	·	·	·	·	
VTI · QVOD · VOLVI · TEMPORE · TEMPVS · ABET ·	·	·	·	·	

These inscriptions were first published along with others from the same columbarium in *Notizie d. Scav.*, 1899, p. 82, and in *Bull. Com.*, 1899, p. 66. Unfortunately the copy was not absolutely accurate in either case. The *Bullettino* especially was at fault in omitting the second S of VESTISPICA in both instances and in failing to indicate that the two inscriptions are cut on the same tablet. This faulty copy seems to have misled the editor of the supplement to the sixth volume of the *Corpus*, who published the inscriptions with the errors just indicated as numbers 33395 and 33393. In the third line of the metrical portion the stone has DISCITI (a palpable error for DISCITE) and not DISCIT as reported by Vaglieri and Gatti, followed by Huelsen. Again in the last line the last two letters of VOLVIT are written in ligature with the horizontal stroke so short that the character looks like the I *longa*. ABET of course should be ABIT.

The first of these verses would be much improved by the substitution of AETAS for ANNVS, which probably arose from the graver's anticipation of ANNOS; compare VI, 23135, *nondum bis denos aetas com(pleverat annos)* and *Notizie d. Scav.*, 1904,

437, nondum bis ternos aetas compleverat annos.<sup>1</sup> The verses then should read as follows:

nondum bis denos [aetas] compleverat annos,  
tristia praetulerunt cum mihi fata necem.  
discite, mortales, in spem non vivere longam,  
uti quod volvit tempore; tempus abit.

The freedman Pinus, according to other inscriptions from the same columbarium, was C. Cestilius Pinus, who not only employed the slave Ephyre and the freedwoman Chreste as *vestispicae* but had Chloe, another slave of Cestilia, as *sumptuaria*. The gens *Cestilia* is rarely attested. C. Cestilius, tribunus plebis in 57 B. C., is mentioned by Cicero (post red. 21), Cestilia J. I. Euphrosyne occurs in VI, 1495 and Cestilia regina Pompeianorum is found in a scratched inscription at Pompeii (IV, 2413, h). Other *vestispicae* are met with in VI, 9912 and L'Ann. Épig., 1907, No. 85. This office is briefly treated by F. Leo in *Mélanges Boissier*, p. 355.

37. The last of the inscriptions which may be classed under the head of *artifices et officiales*, is cut on a tablet of which the left side and the two corners on the right side are missing. The extant portion (m. 0,20 wide and 0,14 high) is broken into two parts and has the following inscription carved in well formed letters of a good period:

S · PRISCI · CAESI ·  
VILIC · V · A · XXXII  
RIMIGENIA ·  
NTVBERNALI ·  
SVO

... s, Prisci Caesi | [ser(vus)], vilic(us), v(ixit) a(nnos triginta duos). | [P]rimigenia | [co]ntubernali | suo.

In the first line only a part of the final S of the proper name is preserved: probably three or four letters are missing. In the second line the three letters SER · or possibly LIB · seem to be required and in the third and fourth lines the gaps are easily filled. The gens *Caesia* and the *Caesii Prisci* in particular have

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is now in the Johns Hopkins University collection.

been mentioned above in connection with number 34: here the most interesting point is the order of the names. Instances of such inversion are not rare in inscriptions; e. g., C. I. L., X, 8048, 16, Prisci, Afri Domiti (servi).<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion I avail myself of this opportunity in connection with the inscription of T. Flavius Ianuarius Mus, which was published in the second article of this series (A. J. P., XXX, p. 67, no. 3) to refer to another occurrence of Mus as a cognomen. This most striking example of all had escaped my notice but was recently called to my attention by Professor H. Dessau of Berlin. In *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1904, p. 107 Gatti published the sepulchral inscription of M. Gavius Amphion Mus, which is of especial interest because the figure of a mouse nibbling a piece of bread is sculptured at the top of the stone.

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<sup>1</sup> See indices of various volumes of the Corpus under *notabilia varia, nomenclum ratio*.

### III.—THE NUMBER OF THE DRAMATIC COMPANY IN THE PERIOD OF THE TECHNITAE.

The writer has recently<sup>1</sup> endeavored to show that in the classical period there was no limit to the number of actors employed to bring out a play, so far as we are informed or permitted by the evidence of ancient authorities to assume. That the tradition of the three-actor rule should have become so firmly established is due to the following causes: 1) A misunderstanding of the old gloss in Hesychius s. *νεμήσεις ὑποκριτῶν*. This must be interpreted in the light of the didascalie inscriptions like IG. II 973: that to each of the three competing tragic poets was assigned by lot one protagonist. The old theory, therefore, that the three actors employed by each poet is meant is quite untenable. 2) A misinterpretation of Aristotle's *Poetics* 1449a, where the philosopher is discussing the origin and development of tragedy. It is certain that Aristotle had in mind here, not the practical matters which the stage-manager had to meet, but merely the aesthetic conditions of tragedy as an art form. As a literary critic he cites the three-actor scene as meeting the demands of the most perfect art, thus rendering impossible further improvement in this regard. 3) The failure to distinguish between two distinct periods in the history of dramatic performances in Greece and to take into due consideration the place and circumstances under which plays had to be exhibited. At the great festivals of Dionysus at Athens it is quite likely that even in the post-classical period the number of actors that a poet might use suffered no reduction, unless possibly in times of financial depression. But when in the third and fourth centuries troupes of technitae began to exhibit the plays of the great Athenian poets in rural theatres and to make tours throughout all Greece, then it was that the practical matters of economy and convenience may have led, and probably in the provincial theatres did lead, to the reduction of the number in a dramatic

<sup>1</sup>The So-called Rule of Three-Actors in the Classical Greek Drama, Chicago, 1908.

company. The thrifty actor-manager soon learned that the structure of the drama offered him a splendid opportunity for such a reduction, for by a few changes in the text and a little clever manipulation the great majority of the plays could be presented with three actors.

The literary evidence bearing on the practice of actors' guilds in the employment of only three actors for the production of a play was treated somewhat briefly on pp. 69 ff. of the above-named monograph. Without entering into a detailed discussion of the passages involved, the results there reached are as follows: While it is nowhere explicitly stated that three actors only were used to perform a play, yet there are several passages in late writers which indicate that in the writer's time, or, conceivably, in the writer's opinion, even in the classical period, the usual number of actors employed in the production of a play was three. These passages were classified in the following way: 1) Actors are spoken of as appearing in more than one rôle in the same play. It is not implied, however, that three actors carried all the rôles, but only that the doubling of rôles was practiced. 2) The invention of the term "parachoregema"<sup>1</sup> in application to an

No.	τραγῳδοί, No. of troupes.	τραγῳδοί, No. in each troupe.	διδάσκαλοι for each troupe.	αἰσθηταί for each troupe.	κομῳδοί, No. of troupes.	κομῳδοί, No. in each troupe.	διδάσκαλοι for each troupe.	αἰσθηταί for each troupe.	χορευταὶ κομικοί
2563	3	3	1	1	4	3	1 <sup>a</sup>	1	7
2564	3	3	1	1	2	3	1	1	8
2565	2	3	1	1	3	3	1	1	7
2566	2	3	1	1	3	3	1	1 <sup>b</sup>	7

<sup>a</sup> The didascalus for one of the troupes is lacking (cf. l. 52); see Baunack, p. 742, and p. 47 below.

<sup>b</sup> Teachers and fluteplayers are not given with the second and third troupes.

<sup>1</sup> See my article on the meaning of this term in *Class. Phil.* II (1907), pp. 387



extra; i. e., to a fourth speaking actor, is based on the idea of extra expense. If more than three actors were employed no such extra expense would be involved by the use of a fourth speaking person on the scene. The use of the term, therefore, implies for the period in which it occurs the usual limitation to three of the number of actors. 3) In a few passages the classification of actors into three classes implies a limitation of their number in a performance.

Our inscriptional evidence on the conduct of the *technitai* in the matter of limiting their dramatic troupes to any definite or fixed number of actors reduces itself to one document, the four Soteric Inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of the years 272, 271, 270, 269 B. C. A tabulated list of the dramatic companies registered in these inscriptions is given above. The names of all the participants<sup>2</sup> are entered under the general heading *οἵδε ἡγωνίσαντο τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σωτηρίων*. The heading itself seems to show that the lists are complete and include the names of all the performers. There is a further indication of this in the fact that the individual members of the comic chorus for each year are named, and the costumers. The regularity and uniformity with which the different performers in successive years are recorded bears witness to the extreme care and precision exercised by the compiler. We observe in the first place that under the headings *τραγῳδοί* or *κωμῳδοί* the names of the actors are invariably arranged in groups of three and with each group is named the *didascalus* and flute-player. The omission in these records of the names of *χορευταί* *τραγικοί* does not imply, necessarily, that the tragic chorus was dispensed with altogether. It has been plausibly suggested by Jan<sup>3</sup> and Körte<sup>4</sup> that the *ἄνδρες χορευταί*, in addition to their duties

<sup>1</sup> Reedited by Baunack in Collitz' Sammlung d. gr. Dialekt-Inschriften, II. 6, Nos. 2563-66. In referring to the inscriptions I have made use of Baunack's numbers. The dates are those of Pomtow, on which see O'Connor, Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, p. 70. The Delphic decrees in honor of the Athenian *technitai*, of the latter part of the second century B. C., published by Colin in BCH. XXX (1906) pp. 272 ff., also give the names of all the performers with the capacity in which each participated. But the different companies are not enumerated separately.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the dramatic troupes, there are recorded in each list *ραψῳδοί*, *κιθαρισταί*, *κιθαρῳδοί*, *παῖδες χορευταί*, *ἄνδρες χορευταί*, *αὐληταί* (i. e., for the choruses of men and boys), and *ἱματιομίσθαι*.

<sup>3</sup> Jan Verh. d. XXXIX Phil. Versamml., p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Körte N. Jahrb. f. kl. Alt. III (1900), p. 86.

in the choral competitions, rendered this service. There is still the further recourse to the χορευταὶ κωμικοί (cf. χορῶ τῷ γενομένῳ τοῖς κωμικοῖς καὶ τῷ τραγῳδῶ Δράκοντι). At all events, the occurrence of the names of one flute-player and a didascalus with each troupe almost forces us to assume the employment of tragic choruses, whether this function was assumed by the choruses of men or by the comic choruses. The didascalus and flute-player are concerned with the chorus and chorus alone. On any other assumption their presence with the dramatic companies is not easy to explain. Richards<sup>1</sup> correctly interprets the function of the didascalus in general, that is, to teach the chorus singing and dancing, but he is, of course, quite wrong in his contention that the τραγῳδοί and κωμικοί mean singers whom the didascali trained in the songs and dances just as they would have trained the choruses had there been such.

Erroneous also is the suggestion<sup>2</sup> that the didascali are the managers of the companies. There are several indications against this supposition. In the first place, the didascali are men of no reputation whatsoever; their names are not found elsewhere in any important official capacity. The names of only two<sup>3</sup> of them

<sup>1</sup> Class. Rev. XIV (1900), pp. 201 ff.

<sup>2</sup> O'Connor, Actors and Acting, p. 15, n. 1. In his exposition of the meaning of the terms κωμικός and τραγικός O'Connor finds some difficulty in the fact that these terms are used to designate all the actors in the Delphic records. The usual meaning of τραγικός (κωμικός) for this period is 'actor-manager', 'the leader of a small troupe', 'the protagonist in the production of old plays'. But to assign this meaning to the terms in these lists would force us to assume that the three actors named in the companies are the heads of separate troupes. This is, of course, out of the question, as we shall see later. O'Connor finds the solution of the difficulty in the assumption that "the companies consisted of protagonists—all star casts—and brought out old plays". The explanation seems rather forced and, I fancy, will not meet with approval. It is not at all probable that such an array of famous actors came together in these games. But granting that such was the case, at all events, one in each troupe must have been looked upon as the protagonist in the production of plays on this particular occasion. Might not the headings τραγικοί and κωμικοί refer to the first actors in each group, it being understood that the first actor in each troupe was manager? We must remember that the headings τραγικοί and κωμικοί are not repeated with each company, but serve for the three companies of three actors each.

<sup>3</sup> Moschion, didascalus in 270 B. C. (2565.61) can hardly be identical with the Moschion who was twice victor at the Lenaea. For Moschion's date see now O'Connor, whose lists, loc. cit., pp. 61 ff. supply a much needed chronological basis for prosopographical work on the Athenian comic actors.

occur under another title. Thyrsus, didascalus in 2566.64 (269 B. C.), is registered among the χορευταὶ κωμικοὶ two years earlier (271 B. C.). Cephisodorus, who was a didascalus in 272 B. C., is a χορευτὴς κωμικός in 269 B. C. We may infer from this that the didascalus was little, if any, above the ordinary χορευτὴς in rank. The records of the τραγωδοὶ and κωμφοδοί, on the other hand, fully justify their claim to the honor of managing the companies. For example, Lyciscus κωμφοδός (2564.61) was protagonist at Athens (see table, p. 51); Dracon τραγωδός (2564.50) was manager of a company at Delos in 285 B. C. (see table, p. 51); Autolycus won the prize for acting at Athens (see table, p. 51); Telestes (2565.58) was actor-manager at Delos in 289 B. C.; Philonides (2563.48) was victorious protagonist at Athens (see table, p. 51), and was the manager of a troupe at Delos in 268 B. C. If these famous actors were the managers of their companies on these occasions, should we not be inclined to assign to them this function here? Finally, on the assumption that the teachers are mere subordinates of the τραγωδοὶ or κωμφοδοί we are enabled to account for some very important omissions in the lists. Lyciscus' troupe has Cephisodorus as teacher in 2564.65. The same company is entered without a teacher in 2566.68. The omission also of the didascalus with the famous actor-manager Philonides' troupe in 2563.48 has been a puzzle to scholars, but the solution is easy. It is clearly implied that both of these actor-managers on these occasions assumed direct supervision not only of the actors, but of the chorus as well; cf. the phrase χορευταὶ κωμφοδοῦ and the case of Dracon (BCH. XIV, 1890, p. 396) who was in charge of a chorus as well as actors. The fact that Lyciscus employs a didascalus in the contests of one year, but, in the following, with practically the same troupe, dispenses with him, seems to indicate that it was purely an arbitrary matter whether or not the κωμφοδός or τραγωδός employ a didascalus.<sup>1</sup> If a managing-actor felt incompetent to fit out and train a chorus, or if his funds were plentiful, he would doubtless employ a trainer. But if, on the other hand, he felt capable of performing this work equally well or better than the ordinary didascalus, he would of course take charge of the chorus personally as a matter of economy. It

<sup>1</sup> There is another fact connected with the omission of the didascalus with this troupe which may be significant. The same Cephisodorus who was the teacher in 271 B. C. is here recorded as one of the χορευταὶ κωμικοί. Perhaps the manager deemed it unnecessary to employ a teacher since there was such an efficient and experienced trainer in the chorus.

seems to me, therefore, much more probable that the eminent actors such as Telestes, Autolycus, Lyciscus, Dracon, and Philonides were the managers of their individual troupes than the otherwise unknown teachers. The dicascali are nothing more than the hired trainers of the *κωμῳδοὶ* or *τραγῳδοὶ*.

There are other interesting points, hitherto unobserved, on the arrangement of the names of individual actors in the several groups. If the same actor appears in two or more groups, he occupies the same relative position among the other actors of the group. For example, Dionysius (2563.53) appears second in the enumeration of the company. His name is also second in 2566.66. So when the same group is found in two different catalogues, the names of the actors occur in the same relative order, as in 2563.42 and 2564.45. In 2564.61 the first two actors of the company are in the same order as the first two in 2566.68. There is still another rule, adhered to in the arrangement of the names in each troupe, which has a very especial bearing on the question we are considering, viz., whether these records contain the names of all the actors in each troupe, i. e., protagonist, deuteragonist, and tritagonist (or, to use the common formula, *ὁ τραγῳδὸς* (or *κωμῳδὸς*) *καὶ οἱ συναγωνισταί*), or protagonists only. I refer to the consistent placing of the name of the protagonist, or actor-manager, first in each troupe. To state the matter differently, the first actors in each troupe can be shown to be protagonists in a sufficiently large number of cases to justify our generalizing as to the rest, while the last two actors named in each troupe are, for the most part, quite unknown from any other source. But before proceeding further with this point it will be necessary to consider the agonistic lists in the Delian choregic inscriptions.

These inscriptions<sup>1</sup> are the records of musical and dramatic

<sup>1</sup>BCH. VII (1883), pp. 103 ff., IX (1885), pp. 146 ff., and the inscription of the year not much before 255 B. C. recently published by Schulhof; cf. *ibid.* XXXII (1908), pp. 58 ff. The dates here given are those required by the recent discovery of Schulhof, BCH. XXXII (1908), pp. 474 ff. The new Delian archons found by him make it necessary to place each of our first seven inscriptions three years earlier than Homolle's earlier reckoning (see Dittenberger *Syl.*<sup>1</sup>, no. 692) and five years earlier than his revised chronology. I have availed myself of the textual corrections of actors' names contributed mainly by Capps TAPA. XXXI (1900), pp. 113 ff. For a full bibliography cf. Schulhof, *l. c.*, p. 58. The names in the list for 175-171 B. C. are too badly broken to be useful for the present purpose; so the record for 194 B. C., published by Dürrbach BCH XXIX (1905), p. 520.

contests held at Delos, dating from 289 B. C. down to 171 B. C. The performers were furnished by the Athenian guild. From the table below it will be noticed that the records were, apparently, somewhat carelessly compiled and we fail to find the regularity that characterized the Soteric records. The number<sup>1</sup> of τραγωδοί and κωμικοί varied greatly from year to year, probably due to matters of a practical nature. In the record VI (268 B. C.) only one τραγωδός is named, two τραγωδοί in I (289 B. C.), and two κωμικοί in II (287 B. C.). In IX (203 B. C.) we have entered under the heading κωμικός· Εὐδημος τρίς.<sup>2</sup> This expression can

		τραγωδοί.	κωμικοί.	αἰληταί.
I	289 B. C.	2	6	2
II	287 "	3	2	1
III	285 "	5	7	2
IV	284 "	5	4	1
V	273 "	4	5	2
VI	268 "	1	6	1
VII	264 "	3	7	2(?)
VIII	ca. 255 "	8	8	..
IX	203 "	..	3	..
X	171 "	7	3	3

only mean that Eudemus, the manager, gave three performances with his company. A fuller manner of expressing the same fact is found in the new inscription of ca. 255 B. C. which Schulhof publishes; e. g., Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμέρας δύο. By such an arrangement the program for the festival was enlarged and made attractive at a considerably less expenditure than the employment of two or more additional companies would have entailed. Another illustration of what was done in the case at Delos is found in the Iasus inscriptions<sup>3</sup> where the comic actor Athenodorus is furnished five times for the same festival by five rich citizens.

<sup>1</sup> An actor who appeared twice or thrice is counted accordingly; e. g., 289 five κωμικοί and Σαννίων δῖς, 284 four τραγωδοί and Νικόλαος δῖς, 264 two τραγωδοί and Σωτίων δῖς, ca. 255 six κωμικοί and Meneclcs and Telestes each ἡμέρας δύο, six τραγωδοί and Alexandrus and νερός ἡμέρας δύο, 203 Εὐδημος τρίς.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also BCH. XXIX (1905), p. 520 where δῖς and τρίς are similarly used.

<sup>3</sup> Lebas. Wad. III, 257; see O'Connor, l. c., s. Ἀθηνόδωρος for the facts.



So in VII (264 B. C.) only two different τραγωδοί, Sotion (δίσ) and Paramonus, are entered. It is evident, then, that in the records of these five years each τραγῳδός or κωμῳδός was the actor-manager of a troupe; in neither case is the number sufficiently large to produce a play. This would, of course, be following the usual method of designating a troupe; i. e., by the name of the leading actor. Such is the case in the Corcyrean inscription IG. IX (CIG. 1845), where a rich citizen provides in his will that a certain amount should be set aside for dramatic performances every two years. The testator further specifies that with the said amount should be employed three τραγωδοί, three κωμῳδοί, and three αὐληταί. Lüders has pointed out that under the title τραγῳδός or κωμῳδός must be understood a little dramatic company.<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus also (XII. 539 a), in reference to the contests given by Alexander to celebrate his wedding, mentions three τραγωδοί, Thettalus, Athenodorus, and Aristocritus, and three κωμῳδοί, Lycon, Phormion, and Ariston. These are all famous actors and each represents a company. The same explanation applies to the two τραγωδοί, two κωμῳδοί, and two αὐληταί mentioned in a decree of the Tean guild of technitae (Le Bas, *As. Min.* n. 281; Lüders 91). Other instances of this use of τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός are cited by O'Connor (*History of Actors and Acting*, p. 14). It would be, therefore, quite in harmony with the usual practice of the period if the Delion records also recorded the names of only protagonists.<sup>2</sup>

But we have still further evidence that such a practice was followed in these lists. In III (285 B. C.) under the heading κωμῳδοί are entered the names of Polycles, Menecles, and Hieronymus. This Hieronymus has been identified with the actor of the same name who is credited with four victories at the Lenaea (IG. II 977 *u v*). Polycles and Menecles are also victorious protagonists (IG. II 977 *u v* and *f'w*). Thus in *one* catalogue we have three protagonists. It follows then beyond any reasonable doubt that the Delian inscriptions do not contain the names of all the actors in each troupe, but only protagonists.

<sup>1</sup> Welcker *Gr. Tr.*, p. 1287, was of the opinion that actors were meant: "Also gerade so viel um das Stück zu geben"; so Richards *Class. Rev.* XIV (1900), p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> So in the Athenian didascalic inscriptions IG. II 972, 973, etc., one actor is mentioned for each poet; so in the Magnesian inscriptions; Kern, *Inscr. v. Magn.* no. 88.



Since, then, the Delian inscriptions record the names of the actor-managers only, we may now consider how far this fact will enable us to determine the significance of the arrangement of the actors in the Delphic troupes. A comparison of the Delian and Soteric inscriptions with each other and with the Athenian inscriptions has shown that a number of actors who participated in the Soteria are found in the Delian Apollonia and also in the Athenian Victors' lists.<sup>1</sup> The Athenian lists give only the victorious protagonists. In the table I have given the names of only the actors whose identification seems certain.

Seven actors in the Delian lists are identical with actors in the Soteria, eight with like-named actors in the Athenian didascalical inscriptions. The Soteric catalogues contain four actors who are credited with victories at the Athenian festivals. Almost every actor in the Soteric inscriptions who is known from the Delian or Athenian records as a protagonist stands first in order in the company at Delphi. Conversely, the names of the last two actors in each group of three in the Delphic records are not, as a rule, found in other inscriptions. Even the proposed identifications of the second and third actors in the Delphic troupes with protagonists in other lists are insignificant as compared with the large number of instances where the first actor is beyond any doubt a protagonist. But such identifications are very doubtful. For example, to cite the cases of a few actors whose identifications seem least uncertain, Ἡράκ[λειτος] IG. II 977 *q* (Wilhelm, *Dram. Urk.*, p. 140) = Heracleitus,<sup>2</sup> Soteric, 269 B. C., l. 51 and 272 B. C., l. 39; [Φιλοκ]ύδης IG. II 977 *m* (Wilhelm, p. 164) = Philocydes, Soteric 271 B. C., l. 67; [Δη]μείας IG. II 977 *b* (Capps *AJA.* IV, p. 82 and Wilhelm, p. 156) = Demeas, Soteric 270 B. C., l. 64. The three actors here named stand second in order in the Delphic companies. But it happens that in these three troupes the well-

<sup>1</sup>The scholars to whom the identifications are due will be found in O'Connor's *Prosopographia*, except the names of the new list for ca. 255 B. C. Of these Alexandrus, Menecles, Telestes, and Creon are known from the Athenian or Delphian lists. In giving the approximate Athenian dates, I have followed O'Connor.

<sup>2</sup>Heracleitus is registered in 2563, l. 39, as Ἡράκλειτος Δίωνος Ἀργεῖος, but Ἀθηναῖος 2566, l. 51. Preuner (*Ein delphisches Weihgeschenk*, p. 76) observed the change of the ethnon. But the fact that the name is third in the company in 2563, l. 39, but second in 2566, l. 51, might increase the doubt as to their identity.

known actors, Alexandrus, Autolycus, and Lysimachus stand first in order. These actors are undoubtedly protagonists, their identification with like-named actors in the Athenian inscriptions being certain (see table above). There are several possible explanations of the difficulty: 1) Certain troupes at Delphi may be composed of more than one protagonist; 2) Only heads of troupes may be recorded; 3) The identification of the Athenian actors with the Delphic may be wrong. (1) Of course it is not improbable that in exceptional cases troupes were composed of *all star casts*. (2) The assumption that each actor is a leader of a troupe offers no reasonable explanation for the one flute-player and the one didascalus. One didascalus is not capable of training three companies (see also p. 46 above). (3) That the identification of these actors is wrong seems probable for the following reasons: 1) The restoration of the names of Philocydes and Heracleitus is not absolutely certain and the list (IG. II 977 a, frag. m') which contains the name of Philocydes is now doubtful; it is even uncertain whether the names on this fragment are comic actors or not.<sup>1</sup> 2) Demeas won at Athens ca. 289 B. C.; he appears at Delphi in 269 B. C. The date of his success at Athens makes it improbable that he is identical with the Demeas who is registered at Delphi twenty years later. If the two actors are identical, we may reasonably infer that Demeas did not retain his faculties unimpaired in old age and for this reason was placed in the *συναγωνισταί* rank. What has just been said about Demeas would apply also to the case of Heracleitus.

It is obvious, then, that the arrangement of the names in the Delphic companies is not accidental, but is the result of fixed formula observed by the recorder of entering the name of the actor manager first.

Our inscriptional evidence may be thus summarized: The Delian inscriptions record the names of the actor-managers only, not all the actors of the company. The same is true of other inscriptions which have to do with companies of *technitai*; no

<sup>1</sup> See O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 66. Besides Philocydes this frag. contains the names of the following actors whom Wilhelm would identify with Delphic actors: [Διονύσιος] = Dionysius, Soteric 272 B. C., l. 53. Dionysius is second in his company. [. . .]ν and [. . .]ν = Nicon and Philon, Soteric, 270 B. C., ll. 59, 60. Telestes, protagonist stands at the head of this troupe, Nicon and Philon, second and third respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Heracleitus won at Athens ca. 278 B. C.; he appeared at Delphi 269 B. C.

deduction may be made relative to the number of performers in each company, since only the leaders of companies are mentioned. Sometimes their assistants (*οἱ συναγωνισταί*) are mentioned, but the number is not usually specified. The Soteric lists are unique in this regard; they record the names of all the performers. It is upon this fact that we must base our conclusion that in the period of the guilds the normal dramatic company was composed of three actors (*ὁ τραγῳδὸς καὶ δύο συναγωνισταί*).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Of course the guild was prepared to furnish more actors if necessary; the tragic troupe belonging to the Ptolemais guild consisted of one *τραγῳδός* and four *συναγωνισταί*, Ditt., *Orient. Gr. Insc.* No. 51.



#### IV.—LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE SHĀHBĀZGARHI AND MANSEHRA REDACTIONS OF ASOKA'S FOURTEEN-EDICTS.

##### THIRD PART.

##### THE HISTORY OF INDIC ṛ CONTINUED.

We have now to consider the history of Indic ṛ when not immediately preceded by a labial. In his edition of the Mansehra version in ZDMG. xliii, Buehler read *driḍhra-* at vii. 33; but in WZKM. viii, p. 201, he said that this was a misreading, and that *diḍhra-* was the true reading; in his edition in EI. ii he reads *driḍhra-*. Now WZKM. viii and EI. ii appeared in the same year. The question is whether Buehler returned to his earlier reading or whether WZKM. viii appeared after EI. ii. The fact that in WZKM. he refers to his edition in ZDMG. and not also to his ed. in EI. would seem to indicate that in EI. he returned to his earlier reading, considering his opinion expressed in WZKM. wrong. In his additions and corrections to all the Asoka-inscriptions (ZDMG. xlviii) he is silent on the matter. By a curious coincidence these appeared in the same year as WZKM. viii and EI. ii. If it were certain that ZDMG. xlviii appeared after WZKM. viii and EI. ii, it might fairly be inferred that Buehler had finally decided that *driḍhra-* was the correct reading. But if *driḍhra-* be the actual reading of the inscription, there can be no reasonable doubt but that it is a blunder for *driḍha-* or *diḍhra-* (see Buehler's editions of the text in both ZDMG. and EI.), in either case being merely graphic for *dirḍha-*. (A good parallel is *bhūtaprurvaṃ* of the Gīrnār text at v. 4; on the word see Michelson, AJP., XXX, p. 184). Now *dirḍha-* corresponds to Sanskrit *dyḍha-* as is shown by *daḍha-* of the Gīrnār redaction. It is true that in the Indic period the ṛ was long, but there is no reason why the ṛ may not have become ṝ as in Classical Sanskrit (cf. Bartholomae, ZDMG. l, p. 682 ff.), and subsequently *ir*. The etymology of Mans. *driḍhra-* given above is the accepted one, and the one which I myself think is correct;

but it is not out of place to note that if *driḍhra-* be the true reading (and not *diḍhra-*), connection with Sanskrit *dr̥dhra-* is not out of the question. It is true that in this case we would then expect a Gīrnār *\*dadhra-*; but by straining a trifle we might declare the *ḍh* of Mans. *driḍhra-* to be a 'Māgadhism', and the word to be a blend of native *\*dridhra-* (i. e. *\*dirdhra-*) and 'Māgadhan' *diḍha-* (so the Kālsī recension). We then should separate the Mansehra word from Gīrnār *daḍha*<sup>1</sup> and Kālsī *diḍha-* which must come from *\*dṛḍha-* (Skt. *ḍṛḍha-*). But that is not a fatal objection. Or we may consider the Mansehra word the true native one if it be a cross between *\*dridhra-* (Sanskrit *dr̥dhra-*), i. e. *\*dirdhra-*, and *\*diḍhra-* (Sanskrit *ḍṛḍha-*), i. e. *\*dirḍha-*. Such crosses are common enough, and are found on some inscriptions of Asoka; for two recently found examples, see Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 254 ff., p. 256 ff. In this case we then would consider Mans. *driḍhra-* as a lexicographical peculiarity. . . . If *driḍhra-* is taken as the equivalent of Skt. *ḍṛḍhra-*, then of course the *ri*, i. e. *ir* represents Indic *ṛ*, not *ṛ̥*. But in any case Shāhbāzgarhi *diḍha*<sup>2</sup> is a 'Māgadhism'. . . . To sum up, I believe that Indic *ṛ* developed in our dialects ordinarily as *ir*, but after labials as *ur*, and that an immediately following dental mute is not thereby converted to a lingual. The last two propositions, I think, I have established above; but in support of the first I have only cited an example that is not absolutely satisfactory. As proof positive I offer *vistrīṭena* at xiv. 13 of the Shāhbāzgarhi text. This comes from an Indic prototype *\*vistrīṭa-* (not *\*vistīṭa-*) as is shown by the correspondents of the other versions: Gīrnār *vistatana* (read *-ena*), Kālsī *vithaṭena*, Jaugaḍa *vith(a)ṭena*. *Vistrīṭena* is of course merely graphical for *vistīṭena*; for the position of the *r* cf. Mans. *kraṭaviye*, *viyapraṭa*, and *vruḍhi*. It is scarcely necessary to add that the lingual *ṭ* for dental *t* is due to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original. It may be objected that the Indic prototype given above is not phonetic. That I grant, but I see no reason why we should not allow analogical forms in the Indic parent-language. Sanskrit *vistrīṭa-* points distinctly in the same direction. If the Indic prototype were phonetic, we would then have Sanskrit *\*viṣṭṛta-*, Gīrnār *\*viṣṭata-*, Kālsī and Jaugaḍa *\*viṭhaṭa-*. The *st* of Shb. *vistrīṭena* is not decisive one way or the other: see my

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pāli *dalha-*.

<sup>2</sup> Also at xiii. 5.

exposition of the history of the Indic sibilants, AJP. XXX, p. 291.

We next have to consider the correspondents to Indic \**kṛta*- (Sanskrit *kṛta*-) in our dialects. As in the case with the correspondents to Sanskrit *vyāpṛta*-, we find a great variety of forms, and Mans. and Shb. show a wide divergence in these forms. The correspondents are: in Mans., *kaṭa*-, *kiṭa*-, *karṭa*-; in Shb. *kaṭa*-, *kiṭra*-, *kiṭa*-. (For the forms actually quotable, see Johansson, l. c. i, pp. 138, 139, 24 and 25 respectively of the reprint.) *Kaṭa*- is found 5 times in Mans., though but once in Shb.; *kiṭra*- is found 5 times in Shb., but never in Mans.; *kiṭa*- occurs twice in both; *karṭa*- is met once in Mans. In eight corresponding passages Mans. and Shb. agree in having the same form twice only (*kaṭa*- once, *kiṭa*- once). That these are all phonetic is incredible. Contrast with this diversity the invariable *kata*- of the Gīrnār redaction and *kaṭa*- of the Dhauli recension of the Fourteen-Edicts and all the versions of the Pillar-Edicts save the Rāmpūrvā text in which lacunas are found in all corresponding passages. We can at once dismiss *kaṭa*- in Mans. and Shb. as a 'Māgadhism' of the most patent sort (AJP. XXX, p. 421). We may legitimately infer that the native form in both Mans. and Shb. should be \**kirta*- and this only, exactly as we inferred above that the true native correspondent to Sanskrit *vyāpṛta*- should be \**vapurta*-. Shāhbāzgarhi *kiṭra*- comes very near this; it is a blend of the *aṭhra*-, *kiṭri*- type, and is merely graphical for *kirta*-; for the position of the *r*, *viyapaṭra* may be compared. But a decisive argument that *kiṭra*- is merely graphical for *kirta*- is to be found in Mans. *karṭa*-: in this we have 'Māgadhan' *a* (after the initial *k*) for native *i*, as well as 'Māgadhan' *ṭ* for native *ṭ*. We have here the *r* preceding the consonant, and this shows that the position of the *r* in *kiṭra*- is merely graphic. Mans. *viyapraṭa* and Shb. *viyapaṭra* may be compared with *karṭa*- in so far as they both are for *viyapaṭra*. And *karṭa*- indirectly is useful in showing that *vistrīṭena* is for *vistīṭena*, though we should infer this anyhow as we would otherwise have to assume that Indic *r* had a divergent history before the same sound in *kiṭra*-. We have a 'Māgadhism' of the *aṭha*-, *kiṭi*- type in *kiṭa*-; *vapuṭa* is on the same par as *kiṭa*-. Incidentally I add that *kiṭanata* at Mans. vii. 33 is helpful in establishing the fact that the *ṭ* of *kiṭa*- is a 'Māgadhism' as the dental *n* for native palatal *ñ* is also one (cf. Shb. *kiṭraṇata*). As I stated

above Franke was on the right track; but he errs in assuming that the vowel *i* alone is the product of Indic *ṛ* in the dialects of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts in the word *kiṭa-*, though I think he is right in considering the isolated *kiṭa-* of the Kālsī recension as true to the native dialect, and thereby assuming that the ordinary *kaṭa-* in this text is a 'Māgadhism'. . . . Bartholomae, IF. iii, p. 186, says if *kiṭa-* alone is phonetic, then the *a* of *kaṭa-*, *kata-* must be analogical. But *kiṭa-* is not phonetic except in the dialect of K; *kaṭa-* and *kata-* are native to different dialects (AJP., l. c.), and it should be observed that in these dialects *kiṭa-* is not found; accordingly *kaṭa-* and *kata-* are phonetic.

The etymology of Shāhbāzgarhi *pranatika* (iv. 9) and Mansehra *paṇatika* (iv. 16) in the corresponding passage is not definitely settled. According to Johansson, Der dialect der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi redaktion, i, p. 140 (26 of the reprint) the prototype may have been \**praṇāptṛka-*, \**praṇāptrika-*, or \**praṇāptika-*,<sup>1</sup> apparently thinking that the Kālsī correspondent *pan[āti]kyā* (his *panātikā*) especially favored the last. That the prototype was \**praṇāptṛka-*, and this only, is shown by Dhauri *natipana[t]i[kā]*.<sup>2</sup> This is the equivalent of a Sanskrit \**naptrpraṇāptṛkās*, a copulative compound, as is clear from the correspondence of the other versions, Gīrnār *potrā ca prapotrā*, Shāhbāzgarhi *nataro ca pranatika*, Mansehra *natare ca paṇatika*, Kālsī *natāle cā pan[āti]kyā*. For it will be remembered that in the dialects of the Dhauri, Jaugada, and Kālsī redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts that the Indic *r*-stems have become *i*-stems in several of the cases, e. g. Dhauri *mātāpīt(i)su*, iii. 10, *bhāt(i)naṃ*, v. 25, (*ṣ*)*it(i)nā*, *bhātinā*, both at ix. 9; Jaugada (*ṣ*)*it(i)nā*, *bhātinā*, both at ix. 17; Kālsī *mātāpītisu*, iv. 11, *pitinā*, *bhātinā*, both at ix. 25 and xi. 30, *bhātināṃ*, v. 16. Similarly also in the dialect of the Delhi-Sivalik version of the Pillar-Edicts, e. g. *mātāpītisu*, vii.<sup>3</sup> 8. Now Mansehra *paṇatika* in any case has 'Māgadhan' initial *p-* for native *pr-*; and Shāhbāzgarhi *pranatika* has 'Māgadhan' dental *n* for native lingual *ṇ* as in *Tāmba-āṃ ni* and *Pitiniika-* (see my discussion of *Vajri*, AJP. XXX, p. 426). Hence, it is not difficult to believe that the *i* of both is also a 'Māgadhism'. According to Johansson, l. c., i, p. 166 (52 of the

<sup>1</sup> ii, p. 14, he says; "wohl aus \**naptr-ka-*"; misprint for *-nā-*?

<sup>2</sup> The *-kā* is conjectural, but certain.

reprint), the *n* of Shb. *pranatika* is analogical (and not a 'Māgadhism'). This is possible, but improbable in view of the lingual *ṇ* of Mans. *paṇatika*. For it will be recalled that it is agreed that the dialects of the two texts are practically the same.<sup>1</sup>

It is hardly worth while reminding the reader once more that lingual *ṇ* is lacking in the dialect of Dh.; this accounts for the *-pana[t]ikā* of *natippanati[kā]* as contrasted with the *ṇ* of *paṇatika*.

The suffix in Kālsī *pan[āti]kyā* is the same as in *akālikye*, etc., whether this is phonetic for *ika-* (as Franke thinks) or a different suffix from *ika-* (as Johansson thinks). If *ikya* is phonetic for *ika* in the dialect of the Kālsī text, then the few cases in which *ika* remains must be 'Māgadhisms'. If we have to deal with a phonetic process, the change of *ika* to *ikya* must be subsequent to the transfer of the *ṛ*-stems to *i*-stems at all events (cf. the transfer of *ṛ*-stems in the dialects of J., Dh. but the invariable retention of *ika*). The point of departure for the transfer of the *ṛ*-stems to *i*-stems in the dialects cited, was in the locative pl.: *-ṛṣu* phonetically became *-isu*, thus coinciding with the loc. pl. of *i*-stems.

Let us turn now to the correspondents to Sanskrit *-dr̥śa-*. We naturally should expect *\*-dir̥śa-* (which would be written *driśa-*; cf. *draśana-*) according to our theory. As a matter of fact, however, we find *-diśa-* and this only in both Mans. and Shb.

<sup>1</sup> There are a few minor points concerning Dhauli *natipana[t]i[kā]* that may be considered here. It would seem that the combination *āpt* became *att*, written *at*, in the dialect of the Dhauli redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts: note *(asa)matī* (with unusual *-i* for *-e*) at xiv. 19 as contrasted with Girnār *asamātān* (Sanskrit *asamāptam*). From Kālsī *pan[āti]kyā* it would seem as though in the dialect of this recension, *āpt* became *āt*. But *asamati* at xiv. 22, 23 makes a difficulty. It would be safe enough to declare this a mere blunder for *\*asamāti* (cf. *anāthesu*, etc., cited above in my exposition of the history of Indic *rtā*) were it not for Dhauli *asamati*. For if Kālsī *asamati* is a blunder for *\*asamāti*, we are tempted to say the same of Dhauli *asamati*. We then should think it probable that Dhauli *natipana[t]i[kā]* was an error for *\*natippanātikā*, the second *nā* being due to the first *nā* which is in any case proper. Against this assumption is a weighty consideration, that in the Dhauli redaction there are no other examples of *ā* occurring as a blunder for *ā*, whereas these are not rare in the Kālsī recension. But if we consider Kālsī *asamāti* only as a blunder, we have a perfect right to say that the dialects of K. and Dh. differ in the treatment of *āpt*; cf. the change of *vy* (which remains in K.) to *viy* in the dialect of Dh. It is also possible that Kālsī *asamāti* is really 'Māgadhan': but the fact that the blunder *mādhuliyāye* is in the same edict, is rather against this assumption.



Now *tadiše* at Shb. iv. 8, Mans. iv. 14 has 'Māgadhan' -*e* for native -*am* in any case (*tādise* Kālsī, iv. 10; Dhauli iv. 14); [*h*]*edišani* at Shb. viii. 17 'Māgadhan' initial *h*- (*heḍisān[i]*, Kālsī viii. 22); [*a*]*diše* at Mans. iv. 14 the 'Māgadhan' loss of initial *y*- as well as 'Māgadhan' final -*e* (*ādise*, Jaugaḍa iv. 16; *ād(i)se*, Dhauli iv. 14; *ādis[e]*, Kālsī iv. 10); *adiše* at Mans. xi. 12 the same 'Māgadhisms'; *ediše* at Mans. ix. 5 'Māgadhan' final -*e* (note that we have no correspondent in the Shb. text): so that it is natural to suspect that in these forms the *i* is likewise a 'Māgadhism' inasmuch as the correspondents of the Kālsī, Jaugaḍa, and Dhauli redactions invariably have *i* for Indic ṛ. Generalizing from these cases, we need have no scruple in declaring the *i* of -*diša*- in the few remaining forms which do not otherwise betray 'Māgadhan' influence—to be also a 'Māgadhism'. For a parallel instance in which the palatal sibilant is the sole trace of the native word, I offer *pavaḍhayisaṃti*, Mans. iv. 16: this stands for a native \**pravadhreṣaṃti*; cf. Dhauli *pavaḍhayisaṃti*, Jaugaḍa *pava(vaḍhayisaṃti)*, Kālsī [*pa*]*vaḍhayisaṃti*. The Shāhbāzgarhi correspondent [*vaḍhe*]-*ṣaṃti* preserves the original vocalism; per contra note that *draṣayitu* at Shb. iv. 8 is for *draṣeti* (so the Mansehra version) altered by 'Māgadhan' *dasayitu* (so the Kālsī and Jaugaḍa redactions): but note that the original vocalism is maintained in *aloceti* at Shb. xiv. 14 (Kālsī *alocayitu*).<sup>1</sup> The initial *pa*- of *pavaḍhayisaṃti* is a generally recognized 'Māgadhism'; for *ḍh* (i. e. *ḍḍh*) taking the place of native *dhr* (i. e. *rdh*), see my exposition of the history of Indic *rdh* above. I do not understand *ediṣiy*, i. e. *ediṣiye*, at Shb. ix. 18, and would emend it to *ediṣaye*; cf. Mansehra [*edi*]*ṣa[ye]*, Kālsī *ediṣāye*, Dhauli *hed(i)-sāye*, Jaugaḍa *he(d)isāye*: as a parallel we can adduce *oṣa[ḍhi]ni* at Mans. ii. 7 which surely is unintelligible, and must be altered to -*ani*.<sup>2</sup> . . . According to Johansson, l. c., i, p. 140 (26 of the reprint), wherever we find *i* for Indic ṛ in the dialects of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts, such forms have been generalized from cases in which an *i* existed in the preceding or following syllable. No support to this theory can be gained from the dialects of the other recensions of said edicts; and hence it is to be rejected. For why should these two dialects alone possess a number of forms

<sup>1</sup> See JAOS XXX, p. 90. <sup>2</sup> *Ediṣiye* is from an *i*-stem. Correction Feb.

corresponding to Sanskrit *krta-* and *vyāpṛta-*? As has been shown before Mans. and Shb. *kaṭa-* is a 'Māgadhism' of the most patent kind; and the remaining correspondents all show more or less 'Māgadhan' influence.

It should be pointed out that forms as Shb. *matapituṣu* and *bhratunaṁ*, etc., do not correspond to Sanskrit *-pitṛṣu*, *bhrātṛṇām*, etc., respectively as Johansson assumes (l. c., i, p. 140, 26 of the reprint): there *u* is without doubt long as in Pāli (vowel-quantities are not distinguished in the alphabet in which Shb. and Mans. are written); that is, the forms are analogical transfers to the *u*-declension. The starting point was certainly the genitive singular: Indic *\*pitur* (Sanskrit *pitur*) phonetically became *pītu* (cf. Pāli *pītu*), but the analogy of the *a*-stems added *-ssa*, thus Pāli *pītussa*, Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit *piussa*); now as this coincided with one form of the gen. sing. of *u*-stems (Pāli and AMg. Pkt. *bhikkhussa*, per contra note Skt. *bhikkṣas*, analogically we find the other form (Pāli *bhikkhuno*, AMg. Pkt. *bhikkhuno* with *ṇ* by specific Prakrit law) also, e. g. Pāli *pītuno*, AMg. *piṇṇo* (with *ṇ* as above). Then forms proper to the *u*-declension spread. If Mansehra *matupituṣu* (iv. 15) is not an error for *mata-*, *matu-* represents the transfer-stem *matu-* and not Indic *\*mātr-* exactly as Pāli *mātu-*, *mātugāmo pitusoko*, *pītipitāmahā*: per contra note Pāli *pītigottam* and *mātigottam*. It is possible that these last two phonetically correspond to Sanskrit *pītrgotram* and *mātrgotram* respectively; but it is also possible that they only represent an analogical transfer-stem in *i-* which was phonetic in the locative plural: cf. the dialects of the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts as well as the Delhi-Sivalik redaction of the Pillar-Edicts.<sup>1</sup>

*Bhatana* at Mans. v. 24 is a mere blunder for *bhatuna* (*bh* for *bhr* is a 'Māgadhism'; and final *ṁ* is graphically omitted) as is shown by Shb. *bhratunaṁ*, Shb. *spasunaṁ*, Mans. *spasuna* (Skt. *svasar-*). A parallel is to be found in *vadhrana* at Mans. viii. 35: see AJP. XXX, p. 424.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that if *pītina* at Mans. ix. 5 be the true reading (which is at least doubtful), it is cer-

<sup>1</sup> In short *r* before a sibilant becomes *i* in certain dialects; e. g. Pāli *isi-* = Skt. *ṛṣi-*; *tādīsa-* = Skt. *tādrīsa-*; *diṭṭha-* = Skt. *dr̥ṣṭa-*. The Pāli genitive *mātuyā* comes from *mātu* (Skt. *mātur*) with the addition of the *-yā* of the feminine *ā*-stems, whence a general transfer to these stems took place.

tainly a 'Māgadhism': cf. *pituna* at xi. 13, and see Franke, Pali und Sanskrit, p. 123.

According to Johansson, l. c., i, p. 139 (25 of the reprint), Shb. and Mans. *mata-* in *matapitusu* is either for Indic *mālā* or Indic *mātr-*. It is not worth while to elaborately refute the second alternative as Johansson himself has given the best arguments against it; and few will take it seriously into consideration.

We have next to deal with Shāhbāzgarhi *graha-* in *graha-[tha]ni*, xii. 1, *gra[ha]tha*, xiii. 4. The simplest solution is the suggestion of Johansson (l. c., p. 139, 25 of the reprint) that it is graphetical for *garha-* (I. E. *\*ghordho-*), and is in ablaut-relation with Sanskrit *gr̥ha-*. Some may object that in this case we would rather expect *\*garaha-* by the analogy of Shb., Mans. *garahati* = Skt. *garhati*. But this objection is not valid because the *h* of Skt. *garhati*, etc., is for I. E. *\*gh*, while the *h* of Shb. *graha-* (and for that matter Skt. *gr̥ha-*) is for I. E. *dh*. Now the change of Aryan *\*gh* (I. E. *\*gh*) to *h* is Proto-Indic, but the change of Aryan *dh* (I. E. *dh*) is not Proto-Indic but (under unknown conditions) is Pan-Indic. It is not difficult to assume that the change of Indic *rh* to *rah* was prior to the change of Proto-Indic *rdh* to *rh*. . . . Another suggestion of Johansson is that *graha-* is for *\*garha-*, and that this is a phonetic development of Indic *\*gr̥dha-* (Skt. *gr̥ha-*). That *graha-*, i. e. *garha-*, can stand for Indic *\*gr̥dha-*, I readily admit, but I deny that it can be shown to be a phonetic development. In short we should expect *\*griha-*, i. e. *\*girha-*, as the phonetic correspondent to Sanskrit *gr̥ha-* by the analogy of Mans. *diḍhra-* (*driḍhra-*), Shb. *vistriṭena*. Native *\*griha-*, i. e. *\*girha-*, may easily have been altered to *graha-* by the influence of 'Māgadhan' *gaha-* (cf. Kālsī *gaha-*); as parallels we have Mansehra *viyapraṭa* (*ra* for *ru*), *mrige* (*ri* for *ru*), *vadhri* (for *\*vudhri*, i. e. *\*vurdhi*), *karṭa-* (for *kirta-*) AJP. XXX, pp. 424, 427, 428, XXXI, p. 57. But whether *graha-* be the true native word or a partial 'Māgadhism' from the two isolated occurrences is impossible to say with certainty. Yet the fact that the *th* of *graha[tha]ni* and the *th* of *gra[ha]tha* are undoubted 'Māgadhisms' (see Johansson, l. c., ii, p. 17) distinctly favor the supposition that the *ra* of the two words is for *ri* (i. e. *ir*) altered by 'Māgadhan' *a*.<sup>1</sup> I add that Johansson's<sup>2</sup> explanation of Pali,

<sup>1</sup> Kālsī *gihithā* (Skt. *gr̥heṭhās*) in the thirteenth edict is an indirect support to our assumption that *\*girha-* is the true native word of both Shb. and Mans

Prākṛit, Asokan (Girnār), etc., *ghara-*, namely that it comes from \**garha-* with a shift of the *h* appears to me improbable; Pischel, BB. iii, p. 248, undoubtedly was correct in connecting *ghara-* with *ghṛ* of the *Dhātupāṭha*; even if his etymology of this is wrong.

The etymology of *Rastikanam*, Shb. v. 12 is uncertain. The Dhauli correspondent is *Laṭhika-* (in a compound). According to Buehler the word corresponds to Sanskrit *Rṣṭika-*, according to others to a Sanskrit \**Rāṣṭrika-*. There are no other test-cases to show the history of initial Indic *ṛ-* in either Shb. or Dh., but I know of no parallel in either Pāli or Prākṛit for the change of *ṛ-* to *ra-* (the *la-* of Dh. is secondary); and am therefore sceptical as to whether we have the equivalents of *Rṣṭika-*: cf. also Johansson, l. c., i, p. 140 (26 of the reprint), footnote 1. Scholars are not agreed as to whether the Girnār correspondent is *Riṣṭika-* or *Rāṣṭika-*. The symbol for the syllable is not unlike that for *ra* in *gharastāni*, xii. 1 or *Turamāyo*, xiii. 8, and resembles less closely the *ri* of *aparigodhāya*, v. 6. If *Riṣṭika-* be the true reading, on the surface it would favor the derivation from *Rṣṭika-*, for we have parallels in Prākṛit for the change of *ṛ-* to *ri-*. But it is only on the surface: even if *Riṣṭika-* be accepted, it might easily be a blunder for *Rā-*; cf. *ḍaṭi*, xiii. 9—an admitted blunder for *ḍaṭā*. The difference between an *ā*-stroke and an *i*-stroke may be very small: for example *P[ṛ]imdesu*, xiii. 9 might nearly as well be read *Pā-*; and it is uncertain whether *Aṃtekinā* or *Aṃtekinī* is the correct reading at xiii. 8. So that the initial syllable of the Girnār correspondent is not a decisive argument. But there is a difficulty in assuming a *Rāṣṭrika-* the prototype. For phonetically we should then expect a Shāhbāzgarhi \**Rastrikanam* and a Girnār \**Rāṣṭrika-* (*Riṣṭika-* or *Rāṣṭika-* is in a compound). We cannot assume any direct 'Māgadhan' influence to account for the divergence of the actual forms: cf. Dhauli *Laṭhika-*. And I think most scholars will hesitate to ascribe a hyper-Māgadhism in the same

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For Kālsī *kīṭa-* bears the same relation (as far as the history of Indic *ṛ* is concerned) to \**kīṛta-* (see above) as *giha-* to \**girha-*.

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel, Ai Gr. i, p. 276, apparently follows Johansson, though not without misgivings. See also Torp, Flexion, p. 11. I remark that if a Sanskrit word *graha-* 'house' were well attested, we should regard Shāhbāzgarhi *graha-* as identical with it: but it is not, and probably is a mere blunder for *gṛha-*: see BR. and OB.

word of Shb. and G. The Mansehra correspondent *Raṭṛaka-*, according to Johansson, confirms finely the equation with a Skt. \**Rāṣṭrika-*. I do not see how, quite aside from the fact that it is considered a mere blunder for *Rastika-* by Buehler. With great reservation I suggest that the prototype was \**Rāṣṭrika*<sup>1</sup>, a derivative from the prototype of Vedic *rāṣṭa-* (Sanskrit *rāṣṭra-*), on which see Wackernagel, *AI Gr.*, §§ 145 b, 168, Brugmann, *K. verg. Gr.*, p. 119. This will phonetically satisfy all requirements. I add that the Kālsī version has no correspondent, and that the Jaugaḍa redaction has a lacuna where we otherwise would find a correspondent, and this would be \**Laṭhika-*; for it is a well-recognized fact that the Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa recensions are practically the same in both language and contents.

Shb. *d. khati* and Mans. *kha.*, whether read *dekhati* or *dakhati* are 'Māgadhisms'; and so we are not concerned with them; cf. Johansson, *l. c.*, ii, p. 23 ff.

The above exhausts the material<sup>2</sup> from which we can make our deductions as to the history of Indic *ṛ* in the dialects of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts. As stated in the beginning of this paper, our material is not very satisfactory. But not to such an extent as to vitiate our conclusions which are that Indic *ṛ* ordinarily develops as *ir* in our dialects, but as *ur* after labials. Here again Franke was on the right track (*Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 110), but was wrong in limiting the phenomenon in our dialects to special cases only. His exact words are "Spezielle Faelle der Vertretung des skt. *ṛ* durch eine Silbe mit *r* in grosser Menge in Kharoṣṭhī-Pāli". Thus implies that ordinarily we should expect a vowel by itself as the product of *ṛ*; unless indeed he wishes merely to record empirical facts: for his immediate purpose he may not have been concerned phonetically. It should be here mentioned that Franke avoids deciding the question as to whether the writing *dhrama-*, etc., represents the actual pronunciation. If I have succeeded

<sup>1</sup> Leaving aside the question whether the change of Aryan *ṛ* to *ṣṭ* was Proto-Indic or Pan-Indic. Shāhbāzgarhi *st* favors the latter view. See also my exposition of the history of the Indic sibilants above.

<sup>2</sup> For absolute completeness the following should be added to the list in *AJP.* XXX, p. 421: Shb. *dasabhaṭakasa*, ix. 19, Mans. *dasabhaṭakasi* ('Māgadhān' -*asi* for native -*aspi*), ix. 4; Shb. *dasabhaṭakanam*, xi. 23, Mans. *dasa[bha]ṭa -sa*, xi. 12; Shb. *[da]sabha[ṭa]kanam*, xiii. 5. Compare the correspondents in Dh. and K.; note also Delhi-Sivalik *dāsabhaṭakesu*.



in showing that *ir*, and *ur* after labials, is the true phonetic product and not *ri*, *ru*, and correctly unraveled the tangle of *vapuṭa*, *viyapraṭa*, *mrige*, *vadhri*, etc., I am satisfied.<sup>1</sup>

If in treating these problems I have come to very different conclusions than Johansson in his treatise, it is not surprising; for it will be remembered that Johansson wrote over fifteen years ago; and since then, no one has taken up systematically the investigations we have just concluded. Great praise should be given the treatise of Johansson, for it was the first treatment of any dialect of the inscriptions of Asoka by a thoroughly competent comparative philologist. That he did not solve every problem that confronted him was natural; for in attacking the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts (and incidentally that of the Mansehra version), he chose the most difficult dialect of all the Asokan inscriptions to understand.

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<sup>1</sup> Final additions and corrections made February. The pages cited are in AJP. XXX.—286: Franke previously recognized *-asi* as a 'Māgadhism', and apparently denies the existence of *-aspi*. Senart before also made the same observation on *-asi*. 287: Franke correctly has noted that Shb. and Mans. *iyam* is a 'Māgadhism' and I have shown in JAOS. xxx, p. 90, cf. 91, that *-ayi-* is also; so there is abundant proof of 'Māgadhan' influence in the vocalism of other than final syllables. 289: It is now possible to cite the reference to JAOS. xxx by page number; it is 89. 290: Read Skt. *vargṇa*. 291: For the points of contact between the dialects of Shb., Mans., and G. see JAOS. xxx, pp. 87-89. On *hevaṇ* see Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 128. 295: Read 'not' for 'but' in the last sentence of the third paragraph. 422: For *ṛ* read *ṛ* (so in the proofs). Analogical *n* for *ṇ* is almost universal in Pāli case-endings, and is frequent in suffixes; examples are *rūṇa*, *dharmṇa*, *sahassāṇi*, *oropana-*, *kubbāna-*, etc. See my essay on Skt. *puṇya-*, to appear in TAPA. 40. On Skt. *prāpnoti* with analogical *n* see Michelson, IF. xxiv, p. 54. 424: Read *vrddhi-* (so in the proofs) for *vrddhi-*. 426: Read *Peteṇikānaṃ*. The asterisk at the beginning of the last line, though present in the proofs, has broken off. For *Vrji-* read *Vṛji-* (which is in the reprint).

## V.—CICERO DE OFFICIIS 2. 10.

Book II of the *De Officiis* begins with a resumé, in a single sentence, of Book I. Cicero then states, in another sentence, whose text at the close is disputed,<sup>1</sup> the theme of Book II. Paragraph two (§ 2) should begin here, not where the tradition makes it begin (see Knapp, A. J. P. XXVIII 58, n.). In §§ 2-6 Cicero explains why he has devoted himself to philosophy; in §§ 7-8 he defends his Academic attitude.

In § 9 he addresses himself to the real business of Book II. He reminds us that duty may be investigated under five heads (§§ 9-10). Of these, two deal with *decus honestasque*, two with *commoda vitae*; the fifth is concerned with the criterion by which we shall determine what we ought to do if there is an (apparent<sup>2</sup>) conflict between the right and the expedient. Of these five heads two have formed the theme of Book I; Book II is to deal with the expedient, in two aspects. Then follow the words to which I would call especial attention, as follows (§§ 9-10):<sup>3</sup>

In quo verbo (i. e. *utile*) lapsa consuetudo deflexit de via sensimque eo deducta est ut honestatem ab utilitate secernens constitueret esse honestum aliquid quod utile non esset et utile quod non honestum, qua nulla perniciēs maior hominum vitae potuit afferri. Summa quidem auctoritate philosophi severe sane atque honeste haec tria genera confusa cogitatione distinguunt. Quicquid enim iustum sit id etiam utile esse censent itemque quod honestum idem iustum, ex quo efficitur ut quicquid honestum sit idem sit utile. Quod qui parum perspiciunt, ii saepe versutos homines et callidos admirantes malitiam sapientiam iudicant.

The points I wish to make are these: (1) no part of this passage need be bracketed save *tria*; (2) if any part of *Summa quidem . . . sit utile* is to be bracketed, all should be bracketed,

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout, but especially in Book III, Cicero insists that there can be no real conflict between *honestum* and *utile*.

<sup>3</sup> I give at first C. F. W. Müller's text (Teubner, 1898); the punctuation is my own.

or, what amounts to the same thing, should be treated, if genuine, as a parenthetical remark or as in effect a footnote; (3) in any event *tria* should be bracketed; (4) the insertion of *re* after *genera*, though not necessary, would much improve the passage.

What is the force of *quidem* in *Summa quidem auctoritate*? We have here, I think, even if somewhat disguised, the common use of *quidem* to make an admission which is at once more or less fully offset (= *quamvis* or *quamquam* . . . *sed*, μὲν . . . δέ). *Quidem* . . . *autem*, *quidem* . . . *sed* are the forms used in such cases when the writer gives his thought in full detail, but the correlating conjunction or particle is not necessary. Authorities on this point are needless; however, reference may be made to Reisig-Haase, *Vorlesungen* 3. 272-273, especially N. 428, c on p. 273; Nägelsbach, *Lateinische Stilistik*<sup>8</sup>, 195, c. Here, if the contrasting thought has found expression in words at all, it has done so at *cogitatione*. The sense then is: 'To be sure philosophers . . . do distinguish these (three) things, but it is in theory (in imagination, abstractly) only'. On the other hand we may interpret thus: 'To be sure philosophers . . . distinguish in theory these things so closely intertwined (but such distinction is futile)'. I prefer the former interpretation. If the latter interpretation is the more correct, *Summa quidem* . . . *sit utile* = a 'corrective' *quamquam*- or a 'corrective' *etsi*-clause (cf. again Reisig-Haase and Nägelsbach as cited above),<sup>1</sup> and constitute a quasi-footnote.

<sup>1</sup> *Quidem* has not been fairly dealt with by the editors. Crowell, Dettweiler, Müller (annotated edition, 1882), Heine, Von Gruber say nothing about it. Holden translates thus: 'there are philosophers . . . who in theory . . . make a distinction between these three several kinds of excellence . . . , yet it will be allowed (*sane*) they do so upon strict and conscientious principles'. This rendering brings out another contrast imbedded in our passage, that between *severe* . . . *honeste* and *distinguunt*, but, so far as I can see, leaves *quidem* untouched. Possibly, however, Holden felt *quidem* and *sane* to be correlatives; that view, to my mind, gives a wrong force to the passage as a whole. Holden concludes by saying that Nägelsbach, p. 229, gave to *quidem* the force of γούν, 'at all events'. The reference to Nägelsbach must be to some old edition; it does not apply to the eighth edition (1888) which antedates Mr. Holden's seventh edition (1891): but Mr. Holden quite often in this edition failed to adapt references to latest editions of other works. In any case the sense supposed to have been given by Nägelsbach to *quidem* will not fit. Beier (1820) has this wrong note: "*Quidem*, cui Degen vim concedendi tribuit, hic i. potius valet, q. certe, scilicet, ut volgi opinio illa elevetur."

If my interpretation is right, Cicero has expressed his thought in one respect too fully; *confusa* is needless. Further, its presence disturbs the smoothness of the passage. Cicero was apparently seeking to repeat just before *cogitatione* the effect conveyed by *quidem*. The dislocation would be removed were we to insert *re* after *genera* (*genera re* could easily, by a form of haplography, become *genera*) or if we were to read *genere* for *genera* (with Beier, Von Gruber, Müller, Dettweiler).<sup>1</sup>

In the words *In quo verbo . . . distinguunt* Cicero has been saying, somewhat awkwardly, this: 'Though common usage and philosophers of the first rank . . . alike have distinguished *honestum* and *utile*, no such distinction exists in fact'. What room is there here for *tria* with *haec genera*? The actual

<sup>1</sup> If we insert *re* after *genera*, we may compare with our passage De Off. 1. 95 Est enim quiddam idque intellegitur in omni virtute quod deceat; quod cogitatione magis a virtute potest quam re separari; De Orat. 2. 177 ut re distinguantur, verbis confusa esse videantur. If we refrain from inserting *re* we may compare Cic. De Fin. 5. 67 atque haec coniunctio confusioque virtutum tamen a philosophis ratione quadam distinguuntur; *ratione quadam* of this passage corresponds to *cogitatione* in ours. Cic. Tusc. 1. 23 utrum igitur inter has sententias diiudicare malumus an ad propositum redire? Cuperem equidem utrumque, si posset, sed est difficile confundere, often cited as parallel to our passage, is quite different, for there the reference is not to things in reality indistinguishable, but rather to two things so sharply separable that they cannot be combined.

It might indeed be argued that the De Finibus passage makes against the insertion of *re* after *genere* in our passage. It may be said in reply that, whereas *coniunctio confusioque virtutum* is an entirely natural phrase, (*tria*) *genera confusa*, without the addition of *re* (= *re vera*) is awkward. If Cicero wrote that, he missed a chance for an effective antithesis that would have added materially to the clear presentation of his idea.

Those who wrote *genere* for *genera* viewed the passage at this point essentially as I have done. They compare Cic. Tusc. 5. 22 *genere* (i. e. *re*, propria vi sua), non numero cernerentur; De Off. 2. 60 *genere* vitiosa, temporibus necessaria.

Beier bracketed no part of our passage (so, too, Stuerenberg, text edition, 1834). Beier objected to attempts of various editors to explain *tria* out of the following clause as *iustum*, *honestum*, *utile* by noting that *honestum* and *iustum* are not different. He therefore thought *tria* a gloss. He then added: "Non tamen sollicito propter l. 1." I suppose he is referring to Cic. De Fin. 5. 3. 71 previously cited by him: gravissimeque et severissime defenditur numquam aequitatem ab utilitate posse seiungi et quidquid aequum iustumque esset id etiam honestum vicissimque quidquid esset honestum id iustum etiam atque aequum fore. But surely here too we have two, not three, *genera*: why then should this passage deter one from ejecting *tria* from our text.

discussion of Book II began just thirteen lines above that in which *tria* stands. Of these thirteen lines six are concerned with a restatement of I §§ 9-10, concerning the ways in which duty may be investigated. One more line announces the theme of Book II. We must find the *tria genera*, if anywhere, in the sentence beginning with *In quo verbo*. In that sentence we can naturally find but *two* things, *honestas* and *utilitas*; if we find more than two we must find four, thus: two *honestas* (*honestum quod re vera utile est, honestum quod non utile est*), and, by parity of reasoning, two *utilia* (*utile quod honestum est, utile quod non honestum est*). Finding four things involves verbal jugglery, as we can see by paraphrasing thus: *honestum et utile, honestum sed non utile, utile et honestum, utile sed non honestum*. Three things it is impossible to find, naturally. Nor is it possible here to explain *haec*, even theoretically, by what follows. When a writer condemns in one clause, as Cicero does in *In quo verbo*, etc., the separation of certain things and then in the very next clause talks about the differentiation of these things, his *haec* must refer backward, not forward, or else it becomes a waste of time to seek to interpret language at all. The logical mind, then, can find but two things discussed or named in the words preceding *haec*; those two things are *honestas* and *utilitas*. There is therefore no room for *tria* and the word should be bracketed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If we wish ample further proof that *tria* is impossible we may find it in the efforts of recent editors (except Von Gruber) to explain it.

Müller (1882) explains *tria genera* as "das bloss sittliche, das bloss nützliche, das sowohl sittliche als nützliche". Holden (1891) borrowed his explanation from Müller; he calls the three things *honestum, utile, utile et honestum*. These are mere words; if *honestum et utile* is to find a place, we must find room also for *utile et honestum*, and we come out again at four things, reducible to two, as shown above. Heine (1885) wrote thus: "*Haec tria genera* könnte man auch, wenn der Beweis (on the syllogism see below, p. 71) echt wäre, nicht auf *honestum, iustum, utile* beziehen, denn das *iuslum*, dessen sich Cic. nur als Mittelglied für den Beweis bedient, kann er nicht als besondere Art anführen". These are waste words if I am right in maintaining that *haec [tria] genera* must have a backward, not a forward reference. Heine then suggested that the *tria* are "*honestum an sich, das zugleich nützlich, honestum quod non esset utile, utile quod non esset honestum*". This avails not; it relegates to a subordinate position one of the two things with which Cicero is supremely concerned, the *utile* (*utile quod honestum est*). Heine's three things are thus again really four (reducible to two, *honestum, utile*). Stickney (1885) ventured no view of his own. To Heine's explanation he objected that there has been



Up to this point I have worked independently.

In pursuing my examination of the editions, I came upon that of J. von Gruber<sup>1</sup> (Teubner, 1874), to find that my view had been in part anticipated.<sup>1</sup>

Von Gruber printed as follows: . . . [tria] genera confusa . . . [Quidquid enim . . . sit utile]. In his notes, however, he began badly, in that he defines *haec tria* (*haec* is now left unbracketed) by *iustum, utile, honestum*; of this error I have said enough. But he redeems himself speedily, in his note on *quidquid . . . utile*: "Dass diese Wörter eine Interpolation sind oder enthalten, zu der auch das vorhergehende *tria* gehört, ist kaum zweifelhaft, denn das *honestum* und *iustum* als 2 genera (Gattungsbegriffe) zu unterschieden ist Cicero gewiss nie eingefallen (vgl. III, 7, 6); und zumal an dieser Stelle gar keine Veranlassung das *iustum* herbeizuziehen. Vielleicht war die ursprüngliche Lesart: *haec genera re confusa*, vgl. I, 27, 8."

Here we have another example of the unhappy way in which the truth is set forth by some one, in a form and place readily accessible, only to be disregarded by contemporary and later students. See the last words of my paper in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association XXV (1894), p. xxx, in which I note that Maclean had rightly interpreted Horace C. 3. 30. 10-14 only to yield at once to the traditional view of the passage. In The Classical Review X. 365-368 I defended at length an interpretation of Catullus 62. 45 which had been championed by Quintilian only to be disregarded by most modern editors. So in Vergil Eclogues 4. 62 I believe that Quintilian was right in reading *qui*.<sup>2</sup>

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no previous mention of two *honesti*; to the view that *tria* is to be explained by *honestum, iustum, utile* of the following clause (the syllogism), he objects, as Heine had done, that there is no real difference between *honestum* and *utile*, so that here again we have two things, not three. He says nothing of the logical impossibility of explaining *haec* here by what follows. Dettweiler (1890) and Crowell (1873, 1882) take the same view as Heine; Dettweiler accounts for the "Unklarheit" of the passage by "die ganze Hast der Abfassung während einer höchst aufgeregten Zeit."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Beier (cited in end of note to page 68).

<sup>2</sup> I have read with much satisfaction the remarks on this passage by Professor Postgate in a paper read by him before the British Academy, entitled *Flaws in Classical Research* (published separately by the Oxford Press; see page 26). I cannot follow him, however, when in The Classical Review XVI. 36-37 he 'emends' *hunc* into *hinc*; the change from the plural in *qui* to the singular in

It remains to explain, if possible, how the erroneous *tria* made its way into the text. I can conceive of no explanation save one; *tria* is the result of an illogical effort to explain *haec genera* or *haec* alone by the aid of the *quicquid*-clause. Since modern editors have so often seriously considered this possibility, we need not blame a scribe too severely for inserting *tria* in this way.

The *quicquid enim* clause has been repeatedly bracketed, e. g., by Müller, Von Gruber, Heine, Holden, Stickney, Dettweiler, Crowell. Heine joins the clause with *distinguunt* and finds it absurd, for who could differentiate things by finding them identical? But the predicate in the preceding sentence is not *distinguunt* alone, but *cogitatione distinguunt*. Join the *quicquid enim* clause with *cogitatione distinguunt*, and we get the following wholly sensible result: 'though to be sure certain philosophers distinguish these things, in fact identical, distinguish them, yes, but in theory only, for after all they are too closely related in fact, too closely identical in fact, to be separable'.

Heine finds another objection to the words, in that they are faulty in logic (so Von Gruber, Müller, Dettweiler, Crowell, Holden (probably), Beier. In *quidquid enim . . . idem sit utile* Cicero (or some one else) is attempting a syllogism of this form: (1) *iustum = utile*; (2) *honestum = iustum*; ergo, (3) *honestum = utile* (cf.  $a = b, c = a$ : ergo,  $b = c$ ). But the syllogism is faulty, because the middle term *iustum* is not distinct from the other two, for, as was shown in Book I, *iustum* is a part of *honestum* and so identical with it. But is a syllogism un-Ciceronian merely because it is faulty?

Heine notes, as a final reason for ejecting the *quicquid enim* clause, that such ejection makes much clearer the reference of *quod qui parum perspiciunt*; he finds the antecedent of *quod* in the thought that *honestum* and *utile* are separable only in theory.

*hunc* need trouble no one, save one who is deliberating seeking for chances to emend. Even Greek can endure such a sentence as Sophocles Antigone 1165-1167:

τὰς γὰρ ἥδονας  
 δταν προδῶσιν ἄνδρες, οὐ τίθημι' ἐγὼ  
 ζῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐμψυχον ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν.

In Sophocles, as in Vergil, it is easy to see the *raison d'être* of the shift of numbers; in each case the diplomatic generalization is affected by the speaker's supreme interest in a specific case.

This argument, if it has any weight, makes equally well for the exclusion also of *Summa quidem . . . distinguunt*, as may be seen if we rewrite the whole passage with *Summa quidem . . . idem sit utile* gone, thus:

In quo verbo lapsa consuetudo deflexit de via sensimque eo deducta est ut honestatem ab utilitate secernens constitueret esse honestum aliquid quod utile non esset et utile quod non honestum, qua nulla perniciēs maior hominum vitae potuit afferri. Quod qui parum perspiciunt, etc.

I see, therefore, no good reason for bracketing the *quicquid enim* clause. On the other hand, if it is to be bracketed, then, if I am right in regarding it as containing an explanation not of *distinguunt* alone, but of *cogitatione distinguunt* together (of *cogitatione* surely if it explains only part of the preceding predicate), the words *Summa quidem . . . idem sit utile* cohere so closely together as a single entity that if any part of them is ejected the rest must go also.

If the *quicquid enim* clause is retained, there is, to me at least, no real difficulty in referring *quod* in *quod qui parum perspiciunt* to the thought contained in *cogitatione distinguunt*. I have never sympathized with the mental processes which have led so many editors to reject *qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Naevius* in Cicero Tusc. 1. 3 Annis fere DX post Romam conditam Livius fabulam dedit C. Claudio, Caeci filio, M. Tuditano consulibus anno ante natum Ennium, qui . . . Naevius. In such passages editors read too much clause by clause instead of reading in the large.<sup>1</sup> When one notes that *C. Claudio . . . Ennium*

<sup>1</sup>Conjunctions are often badly handled by the editors because they fail to read in the large. Cf. my note on *etenim* in Cicero, C. M. 15 (The Classical Review XIV 216), and my remarks on *atque* in Aeneid 6, 185 (in my review of Norden, Aeneid VI, A. J. P. XXVII 82). I might add many other examples, but shall content myself with just one more, an admirable instance. In Cicero Laelius 18-20 the thought is hard to follow, until one notes that *neque id ad vivum resece . . . optimam bene vivendi ducem* (18, 19) is all in effect an aside or a footnote, and that *enim* in *Sic enim perspicere videor* (19) exerts force clear through *inter paucos iungeretur* (20), particularly on *ita contracta res est . . . iungeretur*. The whole page is thus reducible to this: "My first feeling, then, is that friendship can exist only between good men (I use the word 'good' in its ordinary sense), for I see clearly, I fancy, that, though there is a fellowship in which every human being has a share, after all the fellowship of true friendship is possible only between two, or at most a small group, each of whom must be good". In conclusion I beg to refer to two

constitute merely an ablative of time, lending definiteness to the indefinite *Annis fere . . . conditam*, and so form a strictly subordinate and grammatically minor phrase, he has no difficulty in making *qui* of *qui fuit . . . Naevius* refer to *Livius* rather than to *Ennius*. Further, the clause *qui fuit . . . Naevius* is distinctly Ciceronian in content; we may well say that it is part of his effort to set right the literary chronology of Rome. See especially *Brutus* 72 and *Cato Maior* 50, and Professor Hendrickson, *A. J. P.* XIX 279 ff., 285 ff., 295.

Now in our *De Officiis* passage, if we keep all the words except *tria*, if we regard the *quicquid enim* clause as explaining *cogitatione distinguunt* or *cogitatione* alone, if we read the whole sentence from *In quo verbo* to *iudicant* as one entity, we shall have no trouble in making *quod* refer to the impossibility of distinguishing *honestum* and *utile*.

Akin to our passage and to *Tusc.* 1. 3, in the matter immediately under discussion, is *De Officiis* 2. 1 *Sequitur ut haec officiorum genera persequar quae pertinent ad vitae cultum et ad earum rerum quibus utuntur homines facultatem, ad opes, ad copias, [in quo tum quaeri dixi quid utile, quid inutile, (tum ex utilibus quid utilius aut quid maxime utile)]*. Here, indeed, the words *tum . . . utile* are not found in some of the best MSS, but I see no difficulty whatever in finding the antecedent of *quo* (of course in *Sequitur . . . copias* as a whole); to what else, pray, could *quo* refer? what possible chance, to a Roman reader at least, could there be of ambiguity or unclearness?

Here we have, picked up quite at random, three passages in which, to find the antecedent of a relative pronoun, we must pass over a nearer in favor of a remoter noun. That this is not the best sort of writing none can or will deny; but so long as there is no real chance of ambiguity why should this be regarded as absolute proof that a given passage is not genuine?

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papers in which the late Professor Earle protested, rightly, I think, against the modern tendency "to curtail the comprehensive ancient sentence and to fail to grasp it as a whole" as a prolific source of error in interpretations; see *The Classical Review* XII 393-394, and XVII 102-105.

## VI.—"A SYNTACTICIAN AMONG THE PSYCHOLOGISTS".

### PREFATORY.

In a recent lecture on matters and things in general and myself in particular (see the N. Y. Nation, Nov. 18, 1909), I had something to say in vindication of the grammarian's craft and wound up with the words, "I myself have proved to my own satisfaction that the personal accountability for belief about which we hear so much nowadays is taught by a Greek negative, and that Schopenhauer's system lies implicit in the only true doctrine of the Greek accusative" (*Hellas and Hesperia*, p. 16). From inquiries that have been made, I judge that by some of those who are not familiar with my lucubrations this sentence has been set down as one of my Delphic deliverances, and as I am somewhat sensitive as to the charge of obscurity (A. J. P. XXVII 200) I have availed myself of a little gap in the make-up of the present number of the Journal to reproduce, with the kind permission of the editor, a brief article, which appeared some five years ago in the *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods* (Feb. 16, 1905). So far as I know, the psychologists have not bestowed the least notice on the strange bird that had been enticed into their aviary, and as this is the only article of a syntactical character I have published outside the confines of the Journal since the foundation of it, I venture to reprint it here for the convenience of those who like myself seldom stray into the domain of the professed psychologists,—professed psychologists, for amateur psychologists are we all. To eliminate everything that has been discussed in the Journal would be to rewrite the article, which is distinctly not worth all that trouble, but it is hoped that the effort to bring grammatical theories to the knowledge of non-grammarians may be of interest to grammarians themselves.

B. L. G.

Syntax has passed, they tell us on every hand, out of the logical into the psychological stage. Why not psychical stage? The logical sting is in the tail of the word. Ratiocination returns to plague us after all. And what is the whole movement, psychical or psychological, but a reversion to Apollonios Dyskolos with his definition of the moods as *ψυχικαὶ διαβάσεις*? If the moods are *ψυχικαὶ διαβάσεις*, why is not every utterance modal? Why does not every utterance denote a state of the soul? A universal psychology would be a universal syntax. But language is largely used in determining psychological processes and there is ever before the student the danger of the dreaded circle. The circle



is explicable, but inevitable for all that. Small comfort to him who perishes in the snow of metaphysics. Apollonios Dyskolos, I repeat, the most considerable of Greek syntacticians, was a psychologist, and your mere grammarian is apt to consider him supersubtle. Take his theory of the senses. According to him, the sense of sight is the king sense. The verbs of sight are active and so take the accusative. Sight is under the control of the will. You can shut your eyes. You can not so effectually stop your ears. The other senses are passive and so take the genitive. And yet they are not purely passive. Greek has another construction for the purely passive, and we must recognize a certain going forth of these senses towards the object, a certain reciprocity, as we might say. Clearly so in the three lower senses; touch, taste and smell are reciprocal. We have then two classes sharply distinguished: sight, on the one hand; touch, taste and smell, on the other. Between the two lies hearing with its active and its passive constructions—accusative and genitive. The same principle has a wider application, thinks Apollonios: *ἐρᾶν*, passionate love, takes the passive construction, like touch, taste, smell; *-φιλεῖν*, appropriating love, selective love, takes the active construction. In Latin, *amare* and *diligere* may be psychologically distinct, but they are not syntactically distinct. And somehow *Ἔρως ἀνίκαιε μάχαν* seems to be specifically Greek; whereas *mille modis*, *Amor*, *ignorandu's*, *procul abhibendu's* *atque abstandu's*, even if translated from the Greek, is Roman to the core. We are not so badly off in English. 'To love' is *φιλεῖν*; 'to be in love with', 'to be enamored of' is *ἐρᾶν*.

I have often wished that some modern psychologist would study Apollonios and not leave him wholly to the mercy of grammarians—as crabbed as he and not so penetrating. Meanwhile, such interpretations of syntactical phenomena as those just cited, have a special interest for those whose great desire is to understand the Greek mind, to take the Greek point of view. I, for one, am less concerned about the scientific resolution of a mixed case into its elements than about the composite photograph that the mixed case made on the Greek sensorium; and though Greek syntax fell early into the hands of the philosophical schools, notably the Stoic school, and was put under the harrows of system-mongers, still much of what we call philosophy consists in getting out of language what was originally put into it, and when we examine grammatical nomenclature we find reflexes of

national conception. But genitive and dative as mixed cases and very difficult problems I pass over. There is, however, a case, or case-function, if you choose, common to human speech, that holds in itself the Greek theory of the universe; and that is the accusative. The Greek grammarian calls the fourth case ἡ αἰτιατικὴ πρῶσις. *alría* came to mean cause, whatever cause means. The word has a bad connotation. Language is pessimistic. We can not help that. The most common Greek demonstrative has a tone of reproach. There are more bad smells than good in the world. Object and object are one. So *alría* means in the first line 'blame.' *alría ἐλομένου*, says Plato. *alríaσθαι* is 'to blame,' 'to accuse.' This *alría* is the word from which Greek grammarians got the name αἰτιατική. The Romans took the bad end of *alría*, and translated αἰτιατική, *accusativus*—hopeless stupidity, from which grammar did not emerge until 1836, when Trendelenburg showed that αἰτιατικὴ πρῶσις means *casus effectivus*, or *causativus*. This gives us the Greek conception of the case, or at all events one Greek conception, and that is something. Linguistically, we may refuse to give the accusative this metaphysical definition, as the case of the object effected. The accusative is merely one pole, the other being the nominative, what we call the verb being the current between the two. But if we are to have a definition, we must admit that the characteristic construction of the case is that of the object effected. The object affected appears in Greek now as an accusative, now as a dative, now as a genitive. The object effected refuses to give its glory to another and the object affected can be subsumed under the object effected. To slay a man is to bring about manslaughter. Linguistically, it is a mere matter of apposition or attribution whether you call the accusative an inner or an outer object.<sup>1</sup> Psychologically it is the object effected that

<sup>1</sup> The term *inner object* has been used for many years by the makers of Latin and Greek grammars, but as it may not fit into the nomenclature of modern psychology, I subjoin a note from my Latin grammar (3d edition, § 329): "The Accusative is the object reached by the verb. This object is either in apposition to the result of the action of the verb, and then it is called the inner object, or object effected (e. g., strike a blow, strike a coin); or it is in attribution to the result of the action, and then it is said to be the outer object, or object affected (e. g., strike a man)." Compare also A. J. P. II 89: "When Byron says, 'I want a hero,' 'hero' would be called in grammatical parlance an outer object; but he says in the next breath, 'an uncommon want,' which is an inner object. There is no grammatical difference between the

dominates. And that is a matter of significance for the Greek conception of the world without. The consciousness of the not-me comes from the forthputting of energy, from the object created. The world is *Wille* and then *Vorstellung*. The nominative is, as has just been said, one pole, the accusative the other. Only the personal has the nominative, only the personal has will. Neuters (non-personals) have no nominative, except by courtesy. *πατήρ* and *μήτηρ* are nominatives. *τέκνον*, 'the thing begotten,' is the result of the action of *πατήρ* and *μήτηρ* (the *τοκεῖς*), and *τέκνον* is an accusative, to begin with. *ὁ, ἡ παῖς*—there you have personality.

The preference thus given to creative energy, to will, is shown very distinctly in another syntactical phenomenon. The infinitive originally, as it seems, a dative, a *for-which* case, a case of sympathy, fell into the Malebolge of the deorganized. It became practically a neuter, an accusative neuter. As such it became the object—I hate the word—it became the resultant of verbs of creation, verbs of will and endeavor. As such, it had its three tenses, present, aorist, perfect; or, as I should prefer to call them in order to avoid confusion with the indicative tenses, paratatic (durative), apobatic, syntelic (A. J. P. XXIII 106). The result is necessarily subsequent. There is no need of a future. And the negative is the negative of the will, *μή*. Then came *Vorstellung*, then came verbs of saying and thinking, then came an alien negative, a negative that does not belong to the infinitive originally, the negative *οὐ*; then came the future infinitive, never necessary when there was a shadow of will, when there was a hope, a promise. But there is a set of verbs that will not desert the old plane of will, the verbs of Belief, the verbs of Asseveration; and so through all the ages Belief has the negative appropriate to will. The Oath that compels Belief has the negative appropriate to will. They allow the future infinitive, but they still have *μή*. The Grecian is shocked when Theokritos, Herondas, Babrius, treat an oath as if it were a simple 'say so.' The Greeks say as plainly as they can say, 'You are responsible for your belief as you are bound by your oath.'

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two expressions. The 'uncommon want' is a 'hero-want' so to speak. It seems better < therefore > to take the inner object as the fundamental meaning because this is the universal complement, which can not be said of the outer object". The Accusative was recognized as the case of *die reine Wirkung* as long ago as 1829 by Bernhardt, in his 'Griechische Syntax.' It was really a rediscovery.

If it were not for the Greek negative the consciousness of this will basis might have been lost. We owe much to the *Geist der stets verneint*. And so the intrusion of one negative into the sphere of the other is an illuminating process. For *οὐ*, the proclitic negative—one can not deny the proclitic movement, however modern the nomenclature—*οὐ*, which I am fain to call the *masculine* negative, invaded the sphere of *μή*, invaded the realm of will. We find in the early language *οὐ* with the subjunctive, a mood of will, *οὐ* with the optative, a mood of wish. But these were mere raids, they were not conquests. But the *Vorstellung* did win at one point, established itself on one Gibraltar, but not alone. The particle *ἄν* introduced the notion of limitation. Pure will is free. Pure wish is free. The shadow of chance crossed will and wish. Will was sicklied o'er by thought, by calculation, but it never lost its negative of will by taking *ἄν*. But wish did. We have *οὐκ ἄν* with the optative. This troubled wish becomes what the grammarians call potential. We are in the realm of *Vorstellung*, with its negative *οὐ*. In late Greek *μή* began to oust *οὐ* in turn. 'Les races se féminisent,' says Comte.

Reverting to the infinitive, especially worthy of note is the behavior of what we call consecutive sentences. In our earlier record there is no mere consecutive relation in Greek, nothing but finality (A. J. P. VII 164). Language is teleological. The infinitive denotes purpose. There is no sequence but a designed sequence. A consequence involves a purpose somewhere, a will somewhere. If not a purpose, it is a quasi-purpose. The quasi-purpose is introduced by a comparative particle (*ὥστε*). We call such a sentence a consecutive sentence and distinguish between tendency and result, tendency with the infinitive, result with the finite verb. We distinguish between the animus of the lawgiver and the tendency of the law. But the tendency is a will all the same. The constitution of things, we say; God's will, the supreme maker's will, said the old thinkers whose thought is crystallized in language. Tendency takes the negative of will, *μή*; what I have called the *feminine* negative. 'The lady doth protest too much, methinks.' Result takes the objective negative, the masculine negative, man resting satisfied with the *fait accompli*. Practically indistinguishable, some grammarians have said; fundamentally distinguishable as *Wille* and *Vorstellung*.

One jotting more. Years and years ago I noticed for myself what was not then, even if it be now, a commonplace of Greek syntax, that the Greek from the earliest record known to us makes a sharp syntactical difference between actual perception and intellectual perception; what the German grammarians call *sinnliche und geistige Wahrnehmung*. Actual perception (sensation) takes the participle; intellectual perception proper, ideation, takes the finite construction  $\delta\tau\iota$ , and that is its favorite construction. True, intellectual perception may take the participle, but only in a figure. The future participle has to do with intellectual perception, naturally. The aorist participle is seldom used with verbs of actual perception, naturally. We see things in process (present participle), in a completed state (perfect participle), seldom flashing into existence, seldom at the moment of culmination (aorist participle)—the poet's eye oftener than the plain man's. Hearing, actual hearing, must have the present. The roll of thunder is not as the flash of lightning. The distinction is sharp. It is easily perceived. The schoolboy must learn it. But how did the language, how did those who used the language come to make it? Ask yourself the difference between 'I heard her sing' and 'I heard her singing.' Formulate the difference. It is much more subtle. The Germans can make nothing of it. Those who use the language for the most part do not try. In the Greek the problem is easier. The participle as an adjective adheres to the noun, not so closely as the adjective, but still adheres. It is the surface that you perceive. Intellectual perception detaches the skin, as I have called it, and makes it something apart, and the  $\delta\tau\iota$  that does this is not the outer object, as might seem at first. It is the inner object (A. J. P. XIV 374). Inner object again, result of action, result of will. Greek syntax is all in favor of will as the *prius*. *Wille* is first, then *Vorstellung*.

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## VII.—AN AVESTAN PARALLEL IN DARIUS NAKŠ-I-RUSTAM, b.

Prof. F. H. Weissbach has recently acquired several excellent photographs of the much mutilated lower inscription on the Grave of Darius at Nakš-i-Rustam, generally designated NRb. He has kindly sent me in a personal letter a list of somewhat isolated words, which he states he clearly reads from the photographs. Among these I note a phrase which I firmly believe is in absolute agreement with the theologic phraseology of the Avesta, and consequently has a very important bearing on the religion of the Achaemenidan kings.

Prof. Weissbach records without comment in his letter; 36)  
 . . . . . *vainā-* 37) *m[i]y utā ušaiḃi[y]ā utā framānāyā*  
 . . . . . I would transliterate the third word *ušibi[y]ā*, regarding it as instr. dual of *uš*, Av. *uš*, Middle Pers. *uš*, New Pers. *hōš* (Cf. Av. *ušibya* which with but one exception occurs in dual), lit. "with two ears". We must remember that the Avestan *uši*, "two ears", is sometimes used as a metaphor to express vividly the power of appreciating and the ability of understanding divine wisdom. So I have little doubt that Darius says here; "I see (*vainām[i]y*) both with the capacity to perceive (*ušibi[y]ā*) and (with understanding) of the divine precept" (*framānāyā*; cf. NRA. 56) *martiyā hyā auramazdāh-* 57) *ā framānā hauvtaiy gas-* 58) *tā mā θadaya*, "O man, what is the precept of Ahura Mazda, may it not seem to thee repugnant"). An Avestan parallel would be Y. 62. 4. *dāyā mē . . . . . xšviwrəm hizvaṃ urune uši*, "grant to me . . . . . a ready tongue and to the soul ears" (i. e. capacity for divine understanding).

The mooted question as to the religion of the Achaemenidan kings I regard as now settled. *Darius was a Zoroastrian* and in almost scriptural terms bears witness to that fact on his sepulchre.

Let me add that Prof. Weissbach expects soon to publish the originals (*teils in Lichtdruck, teils in Autographie*) in *Abhandlungen der K. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*.

H. C. TOLMAN

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Catulli Veronensis Liber, erklärt VON GUSTAV FRIEDRICH  
(Sammlung Wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen  
und römischen Schriftstellern). Teubner, 1908.

This volume contains 61 pages of text, followed by 499 pages of notes, with an actual verbiage far in excess of Ellis's extended commentary. It is the work of a Catullus enthusiast who has explored the Catullus country about the Lago di Garda and its effluents, and observed the Mediterranean Islands, their tides, beaches and *algae*. It is a work of many sided learning and inquiry; fertile in palaeographical lore and expedient; resourceful in literary parallel; adroit in textual interpretation and exegesis and the psychological data thereto contributory; observant of life and society (till it conveys the sense of swagger); interested (however inexpert) in the interpretation of linguistic phenomena; affluent in suggestiveness; venturesome; flippant toward Robinson Ellis (p. 389; cf. p. 232), flouting of Hale (Vorwort), actually fleering at Vahlen (p. 424);<sup>1</sup> not uncritical toward Caesar (pp. 231, 515); tolerant of Cicero (pp. 184, 231); always and everywhere abject toward Catullus; but interesting, provocative and, to speak from a sense of personal gratitude, instructive. And because I have been interested and instructed, I hope I may be pardoned for passing in summary review over many of the points made by Friedrich.<sup>2</sup>

I. On phonetic and linguistic questions: Not without good general points of view, as to the inconsistency of epigraphic orthography (220)—which is no proof that Catullus was incon-

<sup>1</sup> Di magni, salaputtium insolentem! (quo' Dr. Magnus).

<sup>2</sup> Formal blemishes: (1) needless repetitions; e. g., Sil. Ital. 14, 361—quoted twice on same page (325); p. 366 repeats, almost without change, some 10 lines from p. 334; p. 346 repeats from elsewhere some excellent remarks about not cutting out the unusual from a writer; constantly rings the changes on 'traductio'—repetition of a word with slight difference in shade of meaning; (2) long demonstrations of the obvious, a) in palaeography, the same phenomenon being often taken up half-a-dozen times; e. g., p. 249, 15 lines of examples of the confusion cl/d; p. 256, several lines for b/v; pp. 181, 286 (et saepe) 8 and 11 lines for confusion of ii/u, nu/mi, etc.—but in spite of all these repetitions the note on 71. 1 fails to explain the limitation of the shift of L/T promised on p. 343; p. 164, having convincingly corrected parum to pari in, squanders a full page to do the work of two lines; p. 211, examples of confusion est/et; b) in syntax, etc., p. 476, long list of examples of incorporated antecedent; p. 460, cf. ad = chez; p. 115, 6 examples for nullus = non (L. and Sh. give 11, or Stowasser 3); p. 311, illustrates at length hinc = a me, etc.; p. 237 defends at length change of MS subito to subido in Aulus Gellius 19, 9, 11, though the Teubner edition prints subido; 3) changes numbering of lines in c. 61 and cites Neue in the penultimate edition (p. 367).

sistent in his spelling—and the perfect normality of coining a new word by suffixation (419; ad 66, 58); p. 193 (36, 13) shows that initial *gn-* did not make position, a fact that has no bearing on syllable (or vowel) length before *-gn-*, nor does inscriptional *gnatus* prove that *g-* was sounded; pp. 125, 98 fn., Fr.'s alleged examples of "Vorgewalt des *a*" are susceptible of explanation by ductus confusion of *a* and *e* (cf. Munro, Criticisms and Elucidations, index references), and Catullus may have written *Sārāpim* as Lucretius wrote *rutūndus*, *lucūna*. As a script phenomenon, "Vorgewalt des *a*" can hardly differ from any other case of anticipation. Personally, I am more interested in the "Vorklang des *r*" (525) because of *accersit/arcessit* (v. Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc. 37, 5; 24); cf. *credrae* (Petron. 38, 1) = *citri*.<sup>1</sup>

One can but wonder to what public Friedrich addresses the explanation of rhotacism (427), or the statement that *-um* (gen. plu., 2d decl.) is not a contraction of *-orum* (403), and for whom he explains *potis/pote* (215) and the <p> of *hiemps* (p. 464).

What makes a correct statement of matters of historical phonetics so difficult for the general philologist? Save for a few subtle points involving temporal adjustments, the *lautgesetze* are, as a writer in the Nation pointed out not so long ago, susceptible to formulations as mechanical, and almost as irrefutable as the multiplication table; but here comes a philologist of unmistakable learning and talents, who asserts that Latin *qu-* is a development from a *p-* (104), while later (154) he seems to think that the *quo-* of *quoquo* 'I cook' is *lautgesetzlich* for *pe*; p. 306, loss of *r* in *ru(r)sus* ascribed to avoidance of successive *r*'s, in spite of *deosum*, *quosum*, *susum* and *dossum*; and in spite of *templum*, *exemplum*, *extemplo* he speaks (537) of the inconvenience to Roman lips of *-mpl-* in *Pimplea*, alleging in proof *Alc<u>mena*, *drach<u>ma*, *m<i>na*, *tech<i>na*. In *rosido* (264; 61, 24)<sup>2</sup> he would see, without more ado, a genuine prerhotacistic form for *rorido*—which, in the light of Pliny's *roscido* . . . *humore* (N. H. 9, 38), and the uncertainty as between *sci/si* in any later MS, must forever remain an open question.

II. Text-criticism: There is an interesting freshness in the treatment of textual questions. Thus at 10, 32 O has *tulsa* for *tu insulsa*, and not content with designating it as a skip Fr. furnishes us with modern instances<sup>3</sup> like a schoolboy's<sup>4</sup> *fürdig* =

<sup>1</sup> By the assumption of "Vorausnahme des *r*" (cf. Schulze, Latein. Eigenn. 209) we justify the quite inescapable equation of *Κέρερος* with *Skr. Çabdās*.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 75 Fr. actually decides that c. 61 is earlier than c. 68 because of the preponderance of *-ier* infinitives in 61.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich rightly disregards the import, if I mistake it not myself, of the sentiment of John Selden (Table Talk 9, 9): To quote a modern Dutchman where I may use a classic author, is as if I were to justify my reputation, and I (sic) neglect all persons of note and quality that know me, and bring the testimonial of the scullion in the kitchen.

<sup>4</sup> For the confusion of *p/c* in Catullus MSS Munro (on Aetna 182, and p. 29) seems to me a better point of departure than a schoolboy's *pôte* for *côte* in

für würdig, and his own alto = at multo, nostis = nos estis (127);<sup>1</sup> and he notes (446) how even the German author of a doctor's dissertation has quoted as Albert one who should be listed in the bibliography as A. Ebert; p. 338, apropos of Adriana for Ariadna (64, 54), Fr. glimpses a monk, and gives an instructive list of errors due to monkish associations of ideas. And he exhibits a positive genius for finding parallels for his assumptions, thus on p. 206 (40, 1), after reading Raui[de] ('the scribe meant rabide') he cites Athen. 15, 689<sup>a</sup> for Μάγα, MSS μεγάλη; and after correcting parcus/partus to pastus (39, 11) he cites Sil. Ital. 9, 603 for the same correction.<sup>2</sup>

But the general attitude of the author towards text-criticism, however he may fall short of his ideals, is sound. He notes on p. 263, for example, that two grammatical or metrical peculiarities are mutually supporting; and he is perfectly sane in his judgment of conscribillent (26, 4): die Frage ob C. habe conscribentem scribere (sic) können, ist völlig müßig; er hat es geschrieben; and he exhibits a similar sanity (91) as regards ipsa = domina. Contrariwise, to save the insensitive Roman ear, he rejects one of 7 consecutive est's in 60, 60-64; and in 47, 2 corrects mundi to saeculi, on the perfectly futile plea that the sense 'people' does not appear for mundus till—Horace (Sat. 1, 3, 112); though Catullus in his 7 uses of saec(u)lum exhibits only the sense of generation, while here he wants to say 'in all the world' (= mundi) and not merely 'of the time' <saeculi>.

And now to proceed with more detail. Fr. has a marked talent for seeing glosses in the corruptions of the text. Now the glosses in Catullus MSS are either ductus *ossias*,<sup>3</sup> or else glosses of grammatical interpretation, proceeding from scribes or owners (users) of MSS, who would insert an o, say, above a vocative, or a quia at the beginning of a phrase logically, but not formally, causal (cf. O's reading of 68, 93). Avoiding rather the usual classification of involuntary errors, Fr. employs such sub-classifications as Vorgewalt des *a* (125), Vorklang des *r* (525), and 'false genitives' (256, 273, etc.). Another rich lead for textual correction is the mistake of contractions. In his use of

a French theme (331); cf. Eurotae, but MSS Europe (435); P/C also in Lucr. 1, 271; 4, 570; 4, 590; cf. Aen., 4, 26 (F).

<sup>1</sup> Note the curious long-distance skipping Friedrich himself makes—thanks to the way we scholars put our notes on slips—p. 369, ad vs. 259: alliteration findet sich ebenso v. 259, pars obscura cauis celebrabant orgia cistis, sprich kelebranda kistis) (ad v. 287, Meliasin linquens claris celebranda choreis (sprich kelebranda).

<sup>2</sup> I use the word correction advisedly, for the pastus of C., reported by Modius, would probably turn out a ductus misreading for partus; and the emendation raptus seems to me probably right (on P/R cf. Fr., 148, 206, 250—even in inscriptions).

<sup>3</sup> This Italian musical term is a great convenience for describing such a text reading as *parcus* al. *partus*, when the scribe, unable to decide whether his original had *c* or *t*, reported both possibilities; such a gloss would commonly be superseded.

these classes, Fr. often chooses the wrong rubric, being especially addicted to explanation from a gloss or a sign of contraction. Let us take, e. g., 63, 5, where the right reading, as adopted by Friedrich, is certainly, we will admit, *Deuolsit ilei[as] acuto sibi pondera silice[s]*: Fr. develops all this from the one assumption of *deuluit*, whence the *s* first jumped to the end of the line, then *ilei*, misread *ilet*, having picked up an *a* from *acuto*, was made to agree with *silices*; whereas *silice<s>* is just as apt to have picked up an *s* from *iletas*, though in very truth I find it hard to believe that such a supra-script *s* floated loosely over the line till it conveniently settled—anywhere. If we must look upon the *-s* of *silices-* as the *fons viti*, it were just as easy to suppose that *silicei* (cf. *pumice<i>*, *Persa* 41, and Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 391)<sup>1</sup> in vs. 5, may have got its *-s* from *anim<e>* is above it in v. 4; or a copyist, puzzled by the spelling *silicez*, may have written *silices* 'to make it Latin'.<sup>2</sup> So, with his predilection for the long-distance gloss explanation *marmorea pelago* (63, 88) is derived from *marmora pelago* rather than from *marmora pelago*.<sup>3</sup> Nor can I think that any scribe, finding *campi* at the end of 64, 344, so glossed it as to make the line read *cum Phrygii Teucro manabunt sanguine Teucro*, whence the riddlesome *teuen* with which the line actually ends. No, *teuen* means that *V* had *teneri*, and this probably means that in a capital archetype *CAMPI* was read *CANERI*; then in an uncial stage of transmission *caneri* was capable of being read *teneri*—all supposing that *campi* is what Catullus wrote.—50, 19, (183) MSS *ocello* for *ocelle* attributed to *ocelle*, with vocative sign, instead of to *o/e*.<sup>4</sup>—34, 11 (209) *saltumque recunditorum* explained from *saltumque reconditorum*, but I should rather find an explanation to accord with *cunuenit cunf<eratur> cummunibus umnium* in a copy of the edict of Diocletian, anno<sup>5</sup> 301.—61, 186 (277). Why is *uiris* glossed by *unis*, when the ductus confusion *ri/n* is so common, and *uins* would of course be read *unis*?—62, 64 (295). Why assume the explanatory gloss *tu* over *pugnare* to account for *tuignare*<sup>6</sup> when *P/T* (in thin capitals) is so admissible a confusion (cf. Lucretius 1, 16; 2, 43)?

<sup>1</sup> Archaic, that is to say sacral intention (cf. p. 478), may have furnished the motive for this spelling, cf. *virtutei* on a Scipio epitaph of 130 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich might also have operated with *ilei* (*a* being not uncommonly confused with *e* in Catullus' MSS (v. p. 370) as the source of *ileta<s>*).

<sup>3</sup> The confusion of *o/e* is very common in Catullus MSS (v. p. 62), but *a/e* is not unknown (v. p. 458).

<sup>4</sup> I suspect that in *cave despuas ocelle* the vocative was construed by some scribe as a dative.

<sup>5</sup> I cite from Wessely's *Schrifttafeln*, p. 8; cf. also the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *cum*, 1341, 3-8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Munro, l. c. 163. Note the confusion *P/E*, *Lucr.* 2, 938; *P/L*, *ib.*, 6, 103; *P/I*, *ib.*, 1, 846.



III. Particular emendations: 41, 1 (208), A me an. a. (puella) emended to Aminaea 'des Weinland's <Tochter>'. But our lack of knowledge of a locality named Ameae does not prove its non-existence. Why not correct to Anne<i>ana, imagining Catullus to be indulging in his habit ut suos quoque attingat, and locating the puella at Anneianum (Castellum)<sup>1</sup> in Gallia Transpadana, not far from Verona, and within the wintering circuit of Caesar and Mamurra? What so likely as for Catullus to use provincia, *tout court*, of the province<sup>2</sup> in which he lived?—41, 8 (211). Fr. reads est imaginosa, and I believe his interpretation to be correct, but imaginosa is perhaps susceptible to defence; cf. Vergil's varium et mutabile semper femina and Cicero's roges me quid aut quale sit deus (N. D., 1, 60); <vis memoriae> si quid sit hoc non vides, at quale sit vides (Tusc. Disp. 1, 60)—54, 1 (241). Heri derived from et eri, but why not ET = H, and no pother about erē?; sed/si (in the 4th line) is a commonplace.—62, 35 (289). Accepts Schrader's eous for eosdem; correction unnecessary,<sup>3</sup> the situation being quite clear when we reflect that fures (34) = adulteri (cf. furta = adulteria, common in the sermo amatorius).—64, 75 (343), tecta preferred to templa on grounds palaeographically insufficient, as the MSS read tempta or templa (D), the change L/T being easy enough for a capital MS. Here templa might be defended, as the victims were coming there as to a place of sacrifice (? cf. 132, patriis ab aris). <But Fr. may have given the right verdict on the reading, for in Lucretius 2, 28 Macrobius reads tecta where OQ have templa>.—64, 205 (363), defense of quo m<o>tu[nc] very strong.—64, 287 (376), claris (Itali) for Doris ably defended. Against <Hae>monisin Fr. argues (373): In den Codd. anderer Schriftsteller ist die erste Silbe eines Wortes oft weggelassen worden, in den Handschriften des C. kommt das aber nicht <anders> vor: to which there is no answer, because it is no argument; but the defense of Meliasin is strong, and this reading is resolvable by ductus out of Minosim better than any other proposed—except Aemonisin!—66, 59 (420), for the extraction of hic liquidi uario out of hi dii uen ibi (uen' = uenus being excised as a gloss; cf. 64, 8 where diva is glossed by uen) nothing but admiration can be felt.—71, 1 (p. 472, and passim) sacer alarum of the Itali is certainly right and, neglecting all the subtleties of Fr., sacratorum etc. are all simply enough accounted for by supposing saceratarum (L/T)

<sup>1</sup> First recorded in the Itinerarium Antonini.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar (B. G. 1, 10, 5) uses citerior provincia; and has extra provinciam. The psychological phenomenon is attested by the names Provence and Cologne: cf. in c. 17, 1, Catullus's own use of Colonia without specification.

<sup>3</sup> For my own part, I can but insist on a canon of criticism something as follows: In spite of all the vicissitudes to which MSS have been subject in transmission, an intelligible and metrical text has the nine points of the law, possession, in its favor: why for 64, 125 (364) give good reasons for reading longe, and then better ones for the longa of the MSS?

as the sole fons viti.—78<sup>b</sup>: pace Fr., who admits that change of person does not invalidate the contention, 78<sup>b</sup> is an integral part of 78. In 78<sup>b</sup> I see an *envoi* to Gallus who, having first been proclaimed pander between his nephew and sister-in-law, is then directly upbraided as the dirty lover of a decent girl. Nor do I look for Lesbia in every (pura) puella Catullus mentions. The use of the *envoi* is characteristic of Catullus: he closes c. 51 with an *envoi* addressed to himself—not an artistic blemish of the same heinousness as the awful madame, ich liebe dich stanza with which Heine brought Du bist wie eine Blume to a close—and, after crying out, in c. 14, on a number of the bad poets of his day, he ends with an *envoi* to his readers: si qui forte mearum ineptiarum lectores eritis, manusque uestras non horrebitis ad-movere nobis, <non horrebitis admonere me id uos>.<sup>1</sup>—83, 6 (507): coquitur for loquitur is not to be approved; in uritur et loquitur uritur means ardet amore, but no less ardet ira,<sup>2</sup> and et means 'und zwar' (cf. p. 145), or better 'and so' (cf. L. and Sh., s. v., II F.), while loquitur is the simplex repeating the obloquitur of v. 4 (cf. Am. Jr. Phil., 24, 262).—114, 1 (548). Instead of Firmano saltu I should advocate Firmani[s] saltus.

IV. Stylistic and Literary. Not without the power himself to hit off a ringing phrase, Friedrich is aware that poetic license in diction is poetic choice within as wide a range of dialect as the poet commands (308, 328, 337), subject only to the restrictions of his own taste and judgment.<sup>3</sup> He knows that the vulgar is often only archaic (160), and that the archaic may give the religious note (478), and he rightly estimates the worth of redundancy.<sup>4</sup> Sensitive to diction, he often notes verbal repetition, with change in the shade of meaning (401; cf. *transductio*, p. 553).<sup>5</sup> Lucretius, Catullus<sup>6</sup> and Prudentius constitute his immortal trio of poets that wrote in Latin (396), and de Musset is his modern immortal (393). He counters Antimachus (522) with Nataly von Eschstruth—not knowing our own Laura Jean Libby. Interested in

<sup>1</sup> This imaginary line is only an *ad sensum* restoration; non horrebitis may be defended as Friedrich's "differently nuanced repetition" (pp. 177, 202, *passim*) and would mean 'you won't be shocked'.

<sup>2</sup> In c. 2 ardore means ira, as I shall attempt later on to demonstrate.

<sup>3</sup> As English poets use *ta'en* and *p'raps* for metrical purposes, however out of their own dialect these forms may be.

<sup>4</sup> P. 207. Wenn Schmidt in den Dichtungen, auch Prosawerken aller Zeiten und Völker, alles Tautologische beseitigen will, so schneidet er ein Drittel ihres gegenwärtigen Umfanges weg und die Hälfte aller Anmut mit.

<sup>5</sup> Missing the repetition of *saecla . . . anus* 68, 43-45) (77, 9.

<sup>6</sup> The parallels cited for Catullus and Lucretius (395) leave me cold: *mens animi* (65, 3; *Lucr.* 5, 149) was already Plautine; and *ipsa in morte* (76, 18), a self-evident and self-sustaining conjecture of the 'Itali', can hardly have influenced or reflected *letum iam limine in ipso* (*Lucr.* 6, 115, 7). And why, recalling the manner of Caesar's death, appeal to Lucretius, in the effort to explain why Polyxena (64, 370; 395) gathered her dress about her to die decently: as though stage Polyxenas had not followed the canons of comely death von je her.

literary tradition, he gathers apostrophes to the separating doors from as far away as Babylon (436), omitting, however, to mention the wall of Pyramus<sup>1</sup> and Thisbe in *The Midsummer Night's Dream*. He is interested also in questions of fact and life, the alga on the beach (338), the eternal charm of Sirmio (180); and he attributes to Catullus a sound, healthy interest in geography (119), not similarly exhibited by de Musset <a child of the times of the Murrays and Joannes>. The *scurrae elegantes* of modern capitals (197), the gossip of idle diplomats (153), the Czarina's fondness for perfumes come in for notice, and the Cybele frenzy is matched with the Salvation Army.<sup>2</sup> We may note for special admiration the following statement of the influence of soul on scenery<sup>3</sup> (182): nicht der Benacus lacht, und nicht das Haus kichert aus allen Ecken sondern Catullus lacht, und darum scheint ihm alles rings zu lachen.

V. Interpretation: Friedrich's interpretations of cc. 67 and 68 are particularly interesting and attractive, and deserve careful attention. He seems to me to have given to 112 a final interpretation, by the correct definition of *multus* (= quasi 'gadabout'); and to have worked wonders with 54. I note the following special points, reserving for another occasion the attempt to solve certain difficulties not solved, I think, by Friedrich:—7, 9, tam te basia multa basiare: te is subject.—8, 12, uale puella; omission of adj. with puella (here only) interpreted as proof of growing obduratio.—14, 7, novom ac repertum 'strange and recherché': these adjectives do not prove to me that libelli had not before then been used for saturnalia presents, only that Calvus had not worked off so teasing a present on Catullus before.—61, 76, excellent ad sensum restoration of two stanzas, but Friedrich adds with some aplomb: man wird in diesen Gedanken und Satzfolge die Bewegung des catullischen Geistes nicht verkennen. The 3 lines inserted after vs. 107 are also cleverly imagined.

VI. Definition: On p. 226 a good paragraph on "okkasionele Bedeutung" (by which is meant a definite contextual restriction—though it sometimes wears the look of an expansion—of the general meaning of a word; e. g., cupidus for cupidus pecuniae = avidus), but such restrictions are not due to the poverty of the Latin language. English is not a tongue of restricted vocabulary, but herdless, in the restricted sense of shepherdess, might be quoted from our great authors; and surely Juvenal in 2, 79–80 restricts grex to sheep and scabies to sheep-rot, without a guiding context.

<sup>1</sup> My galley proof had it Tyrannis, ductus confusions that might interest Friedrich.

<sup>2</sup> A revival of gulf-state blacks not being available, I suppose, for comparison: not that the shouting form of "getting religion" was confined in our population to the blacks.

<sup>3</sup> The influence of scenery on soul is of course done to death by the sentimentally literary.

Special words, *aethera album*<sup>1</sup> (305; 63, 40): the comparison of Fr. *aube* 'dawn' is instructive, but why is not Ach. Staius ad loc. cited, who quoted Ennius, Ann. 212 (Vahlen<sup>2</sup>, q. v.): ut primum tenebris abiectis in<d>albat cf. Apul. Met. 7, 1 . . inalbebat), to which add Aen. 4, 586: . . ut primum albescere lucem/uidit.—*atque adeo* (329; Ovid, Tri. 3, 1, 77) is better defined for English folk by Tyrrell (cf. his Cicero in his letters, p. 140, ad Att. 1, 17, 20);—*dies* (476; 68, 147-8), as marked on a calendar, is not night, neither is soles> dies> noctes (113, 8, 3) in the least probable: as though habitual assignations in the house of an Allius were always more conveniently arranged for the night (cf. c. 32, and Cicero, pro Cael. §§ 35, 37).—*electissima* (191; 36, 6) = most recherché, choicest in point of badness, I think; *hic* (224; 45, 14) is tender—because it applies to 'the party of the 2d part' considered as belonging to 'the party of the 1st'.—*involasti* (156; 25, 6) = 'hast stolen' (for which see L. and Sh., to which Friedrich adds nothing).—*iocosa* (114, ad 8, 6) ist unser 'Unsinn machen' in sexuellem Sinne; cf. in an exalted sense, T. E. Brown's: We love, God makes; in our sweet *mirth* | God spies occasion for a birth.—*Ipsicilla* (184; 32, 1), which, as I agree with Fr. in thinking, is the undoubted reading, is not a diminutive, but a significant compound, modeled on the Greek compounds in *astro-*, and a-rhyme with Plautine strittivilla;—*cilla* is cognate with *cillit* 'crisat', *cillo* 'cinaedus', and *Ipsicilla* was a *Medullina*<sup>3</sup> (Juv. 6, 322) or a *Telethusa* (Priap. 19).<sup>4</sup> For this interpretation of *Ipsicilla*, I find some warrant in *Moecilla* (113, 2), where the form used as a nickname for *Mucia* (archaic *Moecia*) probably meant to suggest *Moeci-cilla*.—*iterabimus*<sup>4</sup> (Hor. C. 1, 7, 32, p. 325) can hardly mean 'plough<the sea>', unless we are to suppose that *sulcare, tout seul*, might mean 'to sail'.—*meditata* (285; 62, 12): who ever thought *meditata* could be used of an improvisation?—*miserae* (355; 64, 140), not *misere*, with Fr., means 'verliebt' (cf. 495).—*nec* (176; 30, 4) = 'sacral'

<sup>1</sup> This use of *album* reveals the import of Ennius, Ann. 89—:

89 interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis;  
exin candida se radiis dedit ista foras lux,  
et simul ex alto longe pulcherrima praepes  
laeua uolauit auis; simul aureus exoritur sol,

Here in *infera noctis* means ad imam noctem, and *sol albus* suggests *prima lux*, l'aube, cf. Ann. 102,

cum superum lumen nox intempesta teneret,

where, if *superum lumen* be the zenith, the furthest point below the zenith would properly be called *inferum*. After the *alba* comes *aurora* (90), and then sunrise (92).

<sup>2</sup> Of obvious derivation from *medulla*: one wonders whether *Messalina* was meant, in spite of the lack of rhythmical balance.

<sup>3</sup> Priap. 19 and Martial 14, 203 seem to stand in some relation of source and sequent.

<sup>4</sup> I have always thought of it as a verb of motion (cf. *iter*), like *superare*.



non.—*noti* (503; 79, 4) active sense, yes; but because, like hospites, ξῖνοι, it is a reciprocal word.—*nutrices* (328; 64, 18) = mammae; here cf. sine uiro (63, 6) = sine testiculis, for in both cases a class name is used for what is the essential characteristic of the class.—*perspicere* (530; 100, 6) seems to me to mean much more than cognoscere, as much, all question of <igni> aside, as our 'test' (cf. Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 263, ad Fam. 9, 16, 1; adding de Amic. § 29 studio perspecto, Fam. 13, 60, 1 fidem perspicere).—*paene insula* (180; 31, 1): und sonst ist paene insula "beinahe eine Insel" meist treffender als unser Halbinsel:<sup>1</sup> the American advertisers, with their 'nearsilk', and the toppers, with their 'nearbeer', may be paving the way for 'nearisland' in English.—*praetrepidans* (225; 46, 7; cf. praegestit, 64, 145), *prae* not = per, but graphically depicts the leaning forward of trembling eagerness.—*quies* (104; 4, 25): granted the sense of 'resting-place', Lucr. 1, 104 is an undoubted parallel. *re-* (159; 25, 9): interesting list of examples of *re-* with negative force, but *re-* with verbs of fastening, closing (cf. my Most., ad 452) should not be confounded with *re-* in reponere (cf. 181; 31, 8), which means 'to put down, by, up', no more definitely than does the simplex, ponere.<sup>2</sup>—*requirere* (252; 55, 18) means 'to <go> back in search of'.—*sensit* (329; 64, 21), defined, after sententia, as quasi 'voted': why not, as usual, by 'realized'? [In Cic. Leg. 3, 39 quid sentiant = the real belief]—*strictura* (414; 66, 50) kann nicht mit stringere zusammenhängen; denn strictura ist feruens ferrum: nay, stringit is English strikes, and strictura is quantum ferri faber una opera e fornace ad stringendum extollit; its incandescence, however essential and characteristic, was incidental only.—*tenuit* (330; 64, 28), defined by 'fesselte' is suggestive of Browning's fondness for the word 'fixed', *tout court*, for 'fixed the attention of'.—*tremulus* (145; 17, 12) means, I think, 'a-tremble'—lest he wake his child; or the arm was literally 'shaky' from long holding.—*voster* ist (203; 39, 20) = tuus (Schwabe). Allerdings geraten sonst ganz harmlose gutmütige Männer in einen heiligen Zorn, wenn sie von dieser Gleichsetzung hören, und lieber verzichten sie auf den naheliegenden, einzig möglichen Sinn, statt eine grammatische Marotte aufzugeben (quotes 55, 22 for uostri = tui—unless this be a distributing dual).

VII. Grammatical.—254, correct warning that Roman <and subsequent> grammarians have drawn their rules too sweepingly or the facts.—224 (45, 17), sinistrant chimerically defended as a vulgar form a <mediaeval> copyist was trying to save (better restore sinistra uti).—391 (64, 379), mitto = desisto defended by

<sup>1</sup> The shortcomings of the German half-translations of Greek and Latin words are startlingly in evidence in "Fernrohr", which I count as electissimum among ill-made words.

<sup>2</sup> From reddi 'puts back' the sense of 'puts in the proper place' took its rise, I take it.



two examples not more cogent than half-a-dozen in L. and Sh.—201 (39, 9). Well-known fact that pronouns come early in their phrases, and are 'bunched', stated as if it were an esoteric truth.—390 (64, 362), mors for mortuus.—161 (27, 4). In illustration of what I call 'rich' comparison the very instructive example, Mi. 664, leniorem dices quam mutumst mare, might have been mentioned—428 (66, 91), examples of non with the impv.—391 (64, 378), nec mater maesta . . mittet: only in Hor. C. 2, 5, 1, nondum subacta . . ualet, does English idiom require, however it may admit, our taking the negative separately with both verb and subject participle.—268 (61, 71), at queat: alleged parallels for attraction of mood may be questioned; the subjunctives belong chiefly to ideal apodoses; but at queat here does echo non queat which is apodotic to quae (= siqua) careat.—118 (9, 5), pluralis 'iterativus'; 117 (9, 5) nuntii beati is nom. plur., not gen. exclam.—404 (66, 9), multis deorum:—"jedenfalls kennt diesen Genetiv <der Zugehörigkeit> erst die nächste Generation"—which sounds suspiciously like dating a mental process.—131 (12, 8): disertus c. gen. admits of a simpler explanation.—414 (66, 51), comae mea fata: the logical, not formal, agreement of a gen. poss. with the poss. pron. (if that interpretation is correct) might have been explained more briefly.—328 (64, 18): tenus c. gen. not, as Wölfflin thought, a metrical substitute for the abl.<sup>1</sup>—382 (64, 313): in pollice approximates pollice; yes, as either naue or in nave vehi, manu or in manu tenere approximate the one the other; the comparison of in amore (Prop. 1, 3, 44) is beside the mark; in amore rather approximates a dative of possession.—282 (62, 1), Olympo 'am Himmel':—besser wäre 'vom Himmel'.

Envoi: A long review? Yes, but a long book, and I have curtailed the review of my own motion, as, indeed, the book was curtailed, on good advice (Vorwort). Why all this material was packed into a commentary on Catullus we may wonder; but let us be grateful that the large book contains both interest and instruction. The book is not inerrant, but I may be permitted to record a remark of the late Professor Mau who, when I commented in a rather banal way on the inerrancy of a great German scholar, replied something to the effect that he did not care for the scholars that made no mistakes; and to conclude with the wish: non horrebitis admonere me haec vos.

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<sup>1</sup> This construction was adequately explained in my review of Lane's Latin Grammar (Cl. Rev. 14, 319) as due to the criss-cross of tenus and fini.

De Scholiis in Apollonium Rhodium Quaestiones Selectae.  
Dissertatio Inauguralis quam scripsit LUDOVICUS DEICKE.  
Gottingae MDCCCL.

This dissertation deserves more notice than it has received during the years that have passed since its publication. It was one of the last, perhaps the very last piece of work of this sort to receive the approval of the late Professor Kaibel. The discussion of Dr. Deicke is important partly for what it is, partly for what it promises, by implication if not expressly. In order to give the right point of view, the following prefatory remarks are made.

1. The scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes are to be reckoned as among the most important ancient commentaries. Here are preserved many fragments of poets, historians, geographers, and besides, much valuable wreckage of ancient learning. 2. A definitive text of this important commentary is not yet in existence. A glance backward will show the situation. The scholia first appeared in print in 1496, in a Florentine edition of the *Argonautica*. This form, which was long the only form in use, we may refer to as Fl. Through Ruhnken's influence, a different recension of the scholia, as found in a Paris manuscript, was published by Schaefer. The second volume of the second edition of Brunck's *Argonautica*, Leipzig, 1813, contains these two bodies of scholia, Fl and P. Scholars of the following period referred not to any one text of the scholia but to these two forms. 3. A new and a third period began with the edition of Keil, in 1854. This edition was based entirely on the famous Codex Laurentianus, XXXII, 9, and was independent of Fl and P. Keil maintained that here was the authoritative text. He was convinced that L, as we may call it, is anterior to Fl and P; that whatever is good in Fl and P came from L; that whatever in Fl and P is not referable to L is worthless. There is so much truth in Keil's position that he carried conviction almost universally. L is undoubtedly a better and a purer tradition than any other. But it has gradually become clear that Keil's theory is not adequate. It has been shown by a comparison of L, Fl and P that sometimes the last two have the right of it as against the first. No great progress, however, could be expected, by this method alone. At best, it taught circumspection in the use of the scholia. 4. The hope of progress must lie in the accession of new material. If it be true that Fl and P are not derived from L, but that, rather, all three converge at a point still further back, then one must work toward this point of convergence; one must try to ascend the main stream, before it parted to flow into the lesser channels that we now know, L, Fl, P. 5. The grammatical tradition which is richly precipitated in the scholia Apolloniana is not found here

alone. It is in evidence in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Keil occasionally used this aid in emending the text, but not thoroughly. Various investigations have shown that the notes in E. M. are drawn from a richer and fuller form of the scholia than what we now possess. In other words, they go back to that main stream to which reference has been made. They go back to it, not directly, but through intermediate channels which may often be traced.

At length we have reached the vital part of Dr. Deicke's work. In conducting his investigation he has had access to new material. *Etymologicum Magnum* is no longer first in rank. There is an *Etymologicum Genuinum*, which is a parallel yet distinct work. Just as L is a better form of the scholia than Fl and P, so E. Gen. is better than E. M. Unfortunately we have to be content with fragmentary knowledge of this new source. The state of the case is as follows.

In 1868, E. Miller published in *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque* certain extracts from a Laurentian MS of an etymological work that was entitled *Etymologicum Magnum*, and yet was in important respects different. In 1890, Reitzenstein began to give supplementary information, based upon a Vatican MS., concerning this same work; at first, in the *Indices Lectionum* of Rostock University, later, in his *Geschichte der Griechischen Etymologika*, Leipzig, 1897. These two manuscripts, the Laurentian and the Vatican, prove the existence of an etymological work that is older and, in the main, fuller than E. M. In fact, the compiler of E. M. has used this work. Reitzenstein who is in effect the discoverer of the new work has named it, in recognition of its priority, *Etymologicum Genuinum*. A principal distinction of E. Gen. is the greater frequency with which the sources are cited; and these are not merely the grammarians and compilers but sometimes writers of the earlier period. No edition of E. Gen. has appeared. Reitzenstein has published specimens. Miller's extracts are based upon one only of the two manuscripts.

Dr. Deicke in conducting his investigation has had the advantage of using unpublished material from E. Gen. He stands therefore upon a vantage ground. His dissertation deals, in three chapters, with the relation of the three corpora L, Fl and P to each other, with the collateral testimony furnished by the *Etymologica*, and with the constituent elements of the scholia, particularly with those elements that go back, respectively, to Theon, Lucillus, Irenaeus and Sophocles, with the periphrases and the lexical notes. The important mythographical and geographical material is reserved by the author for future treatment.

A review of an abstruse discussion like this of Dr. Deicke is of most service if it states conclusions, leaving the details for the worker in that special field. Broadly speaking the conclusions may be put as follows: 1. In using the Scholia to Apollonius one must reckon with the possibility of working back to an earlier

and a fuller form than any one that now exists in the several forms, L, Fl, P. The latest editor of the fragments of Corinna, (Crönert, Rh. Mus. LXIII, 165, f.) proposes a reading based upon this method. 2. The resources of E. Gen. are a new and an important help toward determining this earlier and fuller form. Dr. Deicke has made this particular application of Reitzenstein's discovery and has pointed the way for further progress. 3. A new edition of the scholia is needed, prepared along the lines that are marked out by Dr. Deicke. On p. 23 of the dissertation the problem is stated. The new edition is, as it were, foreshadowed. I understand upon good authority that Dr. Deicke undertook the work, with the cooperation of Reitzenstein and others, and that he has brought it some distance on its way. It is to be hoped that the plan will be carried to its completion. The field is a difficult one. To till it properly demands much self-denying labor. But Dr. Deicke is called to that work, and there are not a few who look forward with hope and expectation to its accomplishment.

In conclusion, one reading of E. Gen. is here cited, partly to illustrate in one matter of detail how the new source brings certitude, partly to supplement my review of the Oxford edition of the *Argonautica*, A. J. Ph. XXII 330. In discussing the reading *πρώραν εἶσω*, I 372, I gave reasons for preferring Bergk's *πρώειραν εἶσω*. Bergk's proposal was an inference from a note in E. M. 692, 35. The testimony of E. Gen. makes inference unnecessary by an explicit statement and by citing the verse:

*πρώειρα: διὰ τοῦ εἶρα, ὡς παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίῳ  
οἱ δὲ κατὰ πρώειραν εἶσω ἄλδς.*

There can therefore be no further question about the true reading of the verse. Bergk's emendation stands.

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Hermes und die Toten. Von S. EITREM, Christiania, 1909.

"Hermes was worshipped wherever the dead were buried", says Professor S. Eitrem in his *Hermes und die Toten*. The primitive Greeks, as is proved by the excavations at Orchomenos, Thorikos, and elsewhere, and the stories of Heroes' graves within temples, buried their dead within the house, and these dead became "Eine Gewähr ihres Wohlergehens". The custom of human sacrifice at the building of a new house, and, perhaps, at the erection of an altar, is to be explained by this necessity of procuring a protecting spirit. The same ideas led



to the burial of heroes upon the market-place, the center of the community. Traces of a Hermes-cult centering around the hearth he sees in Kallimach. H. 3, 69, and in his connection with Hestia, Hym. Hom. 29. The dead were also buried beneath the threshold, before the house-door, and the city gates, on the cross-roads, and boundaries. So Hermes developed from a *θεὸς μύχιος* or *ἐφέστιος* to a *θεὸς πυλαῖος* of the home, a *θεὸς ἀγοραῖος* of the community, a *θεὸς προπύλαιος* of a city, and a *θεὸς ἐπιτέρμιος* of boundaries. Statues of the god were set up on all these places because he was "Totengott". In ch. III the author considers some of the folk practices connected with the doors and threshold. These prove the presence of spirits, and likewise spirits haunt all the spots where the dead were once buried,—the cross-roads and the boundaries. In every case, however, the practice of various magic rites has replaced the original spirit-cult. Then follows in ch. IV an interesting discussion of some plants and trees which show evidences of having been connected with the cult of the dead. Most of them are also apotropaic and aphrodisiac, and many are related to Hermes. The superstitions which are connected with door-hinges and keys likewise rest on a primitive spirit-cult, and Hermes owes his character as *στροφαῖος* to this fact.

In the remaining chapters, the author endeavors to show that the cult of the dead has had direct influence upon the entire cult of Hermes. Offerings were made to him, as to the spirits, at the time of the new moon, and as Hermes Chthonius sacrifices were made to him in behalf of the dead on the Anthesteria. He shares with the spirits an especial fondness for sacrificial cakes; his sandals may be compared to the "Totenschuh"; like it they were aphrodisiac, apotropaic, and connected with the spirits of the dead. As the relation between the living and the dead, however, underwent a change, and the old dread gave way to kindlier feelings, the conception of Hermes as a mighty god of the dead was likewise altered. But traces of it persist in the conception of Hermes as *εὐ[έν?]ταφιαστής*, who closes the fearsome open eyes of the dead, and of Hermes *κάτοχος* of the curse-tablets. So Hermes *μάντις* developed directly out of spirit-worship. Hermes Chthonius is god of the Pithoi or Chytrai in which children were buried,—a practice which may point to a primitive custom of offering children to the dead. He is also god of the Chytrai in another sense; children were placed in these "pots" when exposed, and this exposure was, in form at least, an act of burial. And as god of the Chytrai Hermes it is, who in several myths rescues the exposed babe. The connection of Hermes with the Milky Way (e. g. Hyg. astr. 2, 42),—commonly conceived of as seat of the souls of the dead, shows him both as protector of children and as "Totengott".

The author's arguments are in the main convincing. An article of Dr. Riess in this Journal (XVIII 191) would have furnished



him important evidence for the throwing of a spirit-offering before the door, and Pl. N. H. 20, 6, and Ov. M. 7, 243, are to be compared. On p. 23, n. 1, he remarks: "Das Haaropfer ist vor Allem Totenopfer.—An der Doppelthür hängen die Galloi ihre Haarlocken, die sie der Kybele weihen, Anth. P. VI, 173"; more to the point are Eurip. Alc. 101 and especially Herod. 4, 34. Strange to say, in his discussion of plants connected with Hermes he has omitted the only one which Hermes himself is said to have discovered, Pl. N. H. 25, 38. *λινόζωστις* Lat. *herba mercurialis*, a plant with important aphrodisiac properties (Dios. 4, 188; Ser. Samm. 613), and closely connected with the dog, a "Seelenthier" and "der häufige Begleiter des Hermes" as Eitrem notes; cf. Dios. 4, 189, and Roscher, Rh. M. 53 (1898), p. 190. On p. 11, read *σάρον* for *σόρον*; *κῆν* for *κῆν*.

Although the author has overlooked much that would have added support to his theories, he deserves our thanks for having collected such interesting and important evidence for the influence of the primitive ideas of the folk upon the later conceptions of Greek religion.

M. B. OGLE.

## REPORTS.

### ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, Vol. XIII. First Half.

Pp. 1-40. R. Thurneysen, Zu den Etymologieen im Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. A statement of the general principles followed, with a reply to some criticisms of Bréal, followed by the discussion of special cases. Correction of some typographical errors.

41-49. E. Wölfflin, Allitteration und Reim bei Salvian. The discussion of the subject is preceded by lexicographical notes, the result of a special reading of the author for the Thesaurus excerpts. S. had a genuine feeling for alliteration, creating numerous new combinations and using the hackneyed ones sparingly. He must be recognized as an independent stylist. He uses rhyme also, both of words and of sentences.

49. E. Wölfflin, Mandare. It is not necessary to assume derivation from \*manidus, as the existence of another verb mandere, "chew", was sufficient to prevent manum dare from passing over to the third conjugation with the other compounds of dare.

49. G. Lehnert, Zu Ps.-Quintilian decl. mai. 4. 1. The supposed instance of plus with the positive, assumed by V. Morawski, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn. 32 (1881), p. 4, does not exist.

50. W. Meyer-Lübke, Albarus. This word in CGL III. 264. 33 is a substantive meaning "white poplar". Its relation to albus is doubtful, and it is perhaps not a native Latin word.

51-58. W. Heraeus, Con und com vor Vokalen in der Composition. An examination of Lachmann's statements in his commentary on Lucretius, p. 136f. The examples of com- before vowels are for the most part of high antiquity, the m being dropped later in many cases; although some are due to recomposition. Con- before vowels is much later and is due to analogy; it is frequent before h. The Romance languages have preserved one instance of each.

58. W. Heraeus, Curva = meretrix. Occurs in Werdener glosses (Th. Gloss. Emend., p. 337), and the reading is supported by the Glossae Iuris.

59-68. H. Jordan, Melito und Novatian. Points out remarkable correspondences between the fragments of Melito and two

works attributed to Novatianus, namely the Ps.-Cyprian's *Adversus Iudaeos* and the newly discovered prayers once attributed to Origen; see ALL. XI 467 (A. J. P. XXX 96). These parallels also furnish additional evidence for Novatianus' authorship of the latter.

69-97. E. Wölfflin, *Das Breviarium des Festus*. A brief discussion of the MSS is followed by arguments for *Festi Breviarium de Breviario rerum gestarum Populi Romani* as the proper title of the work. Breviaries first appear in the time of Tiberius, as a reaction against such voluminous works as Livy's *History*. The sources of Festus' work were the *Breviarium* of Eutropius, the use of which is maintained against Mommsen, Droysen and others, Florus, the *Epitome* of Livy, and in one place the *Periocha*. The article concludes with remarks on the general methods of philological investigation.

97. C. Mayhoff, *Epitomae*. The expression quoted in the footnote to p. 333 of ALL. XII occurs six times in Pliny's enumeration of his sources. The correct reading is, however, *Diophanes qui ex Dionysio epitomas fecit*.

98. A. Klotz, *Disciplina disciplinarum*. Cites Greek parallels to this phrase, regarded by Wölfflin, ALL. VIII. 452 (A. J. P. XXVII 470) as of Punic origin.

98. A. Klotz, *Artificus*. Would read this instead of artifice in Bährens, PLM. V. 65. 30.

99-117. F. Stolz, *Das Präfix dis-*. The final s was lost before a word beginning with s only when one or more consonants followed this initial s; hence *dispicio* (contrary to the dictum of Cassiodorus), *distantia*, *distinguo*, *dstringo*, etc., but *dissensio*, *dis-silio*, *dissipo*, and the like. Evidence for *di-* in such words is lacking. *Dis-* + *r* first became *dirr-*, which was displaced by *dīr-*, formed on the analogy of *dis-* + *l*, *m*, *n*, etc., where compensatory lengthening regularly took place. *Dis-* is connected with *δία*, but the connection of these two words with *duo* is doubtful. In nominal compounds *dis-* has a negative force; with verbs it means separation in different directions or into two parts, or opposition; or it has an intensive force, as in *dispereo*.

117. A. Klotz, *Sorsus*. Suggests that this word, occurring in the Amherst papyri, may be a participle of *sorbere*; cf. *mulsus* from *mulcere*.

118. J. Cornu, *Cornua*, Sil. Ital. 15. 761. The meaning of this word, which has been much discussed and frequently emended, would receive light from the French *faire les cornes*, a gesture of contempt.

119-127. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische oder etruskisierte Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften*. A collection of such words arranged alphabetically.

127. J. Cornu, *Zu Lukan*, 2. 133. For *quid* would read *quoad*, which is used as a monosyllable by the poets and hence readily becomes *quod*. *Quod* = *quoad* is cited by Schuchardt, *Vokalismus II*. 516 from an inscription of the fourth century.

128. J. Cornu, *Qui fugit patellam, cadit in prunas*. Cites Romance parallels to this proverb, which occurs in a scholium on *Lucan III*. 687.

128. Eb. Nestle, *Andron*. A new example of this rare Graeco-Latin word.

129-134. *Miscellen*. W. Heraeus, *Aus einer lateinischen Babriosübersetzung*. Notes on the Latinity of the two fables published in the *Amherst papyri* by Grenfell and Hunt, London, 1901.

A. Zimmermann, *Die Personennamen auf -ūtus, -ūtius*. These are derived from appellatives in *ūtus*, going back to perfect passive participles in *-ūtus* and to forms analogical to these. The personal names indicate the existence of many such words which are not found in the Latin which has come down to us.

W. M. Lindsay, *Parum, parvum*. *Parvum* = *parum* is found in combination with *fides* in *Plautus* and *Terence*, an interesting instance of the survival of an otherwise obsolete form in a particular phrase.

O. Brugmann, *Andes*. This word is the name of a people, not of a town, and hence *Vergil* should be spoken of as born in the country of the *Andes*, not at *Andes*.

135-148. *Review of the Literature for 1901-1902*.

149-172. W. Heraeus, *Die Sprache der römischen Kindertube*. The familiar designations of parents and other relatives, of food and drink, of the necessities of nature, and the like.

173-180. E. Wölfflin, *Das Breviarium des Festus II*. A continuation of the article on pp. 69 ff. Lexical notes are followed by the statement that in the preparation of the *Breviarium Festus* read several authors, including the *Epitome of Livy*, but in no case copied six consecutive lines from any one source. We may draw conclusions from this as to the literary methods of the great historians, for example *Tacitus*.

180. E. Wölfflin, *Columella*. *Dentes columellares* = "eye-teeth"; cf. *Span. colmillo*. Hence the personal name *Columella*, which appears first in *Spain*, may be compared with *Dentatus*.

181-191. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische oder etruskische Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften II*. A continuation of the article on pp. 119 ff.

191. E. Wölfflin, *Memoratu dignus*. It is not enough to note that this expression occurs first in Livy and then in Val. Max., but the question must be asked how the earlier writers expressed the same idea. Cic., Caes., Sall., and Nepos have *memoria dignus*.

192. J. Cornu, *Zum Heptateuchos Cypriani*. The use of *feta* meaning "sheep" perhaps points to the Gallic origin of this work. Some conclusions may perhaps be drawn from the metre. The writer always has *Iacōbus* at the end of his verses and *Iacōbus* four times in the middle and at the beginning of lines. He never has *Iacōbus*.

193-199. E. Wölfflin, *Sueton und das monumentum Ancyranum*. An attempt to show direct use of the *Monumentum* by Suetonius on the basis of a comparison of the language and style of the biographer and the inscription. W. objects to the arbitrary assumption of intermediate sources in such cases.

200. A. Becker, *Concorporalis*. This word is cited by the lexicons only twice, from Ammianus. B. would read it in Ps.-Quint. decl. mai. XIV 12, p. 305, Burm., and points out other correspondences in language between Ammianus and the *Declamationes*. *Corrivalis* has no existence and should not appear in our lexicons.

200. Eb. Nestle, *Aratiuncula*. Another instance of this word in addition to the two given in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.*

201-224. O. Hey, *Ein Kapitel aus der lateinischen Bedeutungsgeschichte. Bedeutungsverschiebung durch sprachliche Faktoren*. An examination of the article of R. Thomas, *Ueber die Möglichkeiten des Bedeutungswandels*, II, in *Blättern für das Gymnasialschulwesen*, 1896, pp. 193-219. The factor in the case is the language itself, which exerts an influence which is local, formal, or dependent on the meaning of words. The first is seen in the change of *sic* to *si* with conditional force, the development of *ut* from an adverb into a conjunction, and the like, due to external influences. The second, which is illustrated by the use of *ilicet* in the sense of *ilico*, and of *attigisset* in the sense of *accidisset*, is due to the influence of etymologically related groups, allowing also for popular etymology. The third includes cases like the use of *agere* in the sense of *putare*, through the influence of the synonym *ducere*, or of *pedes* in the sense of common folk (Hor. A. P. 113) through the influence of *eques*, its opposite.

225-252. A. Zimmermann, *Die lateinischen Personennamen auf -o, -onis*. An alphabetical list of such names, through I, with the gentilicia in *-onius* and *-enius* where these exist.

252. A. Zimmermann, *Albarus*. A reply to Meyer-Lübke (ALL. XIII 50). Z. regards *albarus* as an adjective with the



diminutive suffix -ar, which he believes to be derived from an original -al by dissimilation.

253-270. C. Weyman, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. Additions to the collections of Otto, Sonny and Sutphen (AJP. XXII).

270. E. Wölfflin, *Der Infinitivus historicus im Relativsatze*. Would take *audiri* in Tac. Germ. 7 as an historical infinitive, comparing Verg. Aen. 6. 557.

271-278. E. Wölfflin, *Der Gebrauch des Ablativus absolutus*. Regards it as an ablative of attendant circumstances. Interesting examples of its use are given, of which the most noteworthy are those with the future passive participle, and with adjectives unaccompanied by a noun. Examples of the genitive absolute, which occurs first in the Bell. Hisp., and of the accusative and nominative absolutes are appended.

278. E. Nestle, *Acia*. An addition to the examples of this word in the Thes. L. L.

278. E. Nestle, *Erratio*. In Iudic. 20. 16 would read this word for *ratione*.

279-290. Miscellen. W. M. Lindsay, *Summoenianus*. *Paeda*. The former word, which occurs only in Martial, has weak manuscript authority compared with *summemianus* and *summunianus*. The second word should be read in Mart. 1. 92. 8, meaning a short Gallic jacket.

P. Wessner, *Squilla, vulgo lota*. *Lota*, Fr. *lote, lotte*, is the correct reading in the Cornutus-scholia to Juvenal 5. 81.

A. Miodoński, *Olim Oliorum*. Approves of Van de Vliet's interpretation of these words in Petr. 43 (see ALL. XI. 249; AJP. XXIX 358), pointing out analogies in French and in Polish. He would retain the form *oliorum*, citing as parallel *urbs urbium, barbari barbarorum*, etc.

G. Landgraf, *Eine Schablone des historischen Stils* (ni . . . foret). This archaic and poetic expression is introduced into historical prose by Sallust and the Auct. Bell. Afr., where it became formulaic. It is used also by Livy and Tacitus.

H. Jordan, *Palabundus*. In the third of the collection of prayers by Novatianus (ALL. XIII. 59 ff.) *palam in mundo* is for *palabundi*. Other new examples of the word are cited.

G. Landgraf, *Hypodromus*. *Epicastorium*. Two new words from the Description of the Palatine edited by Rossi and Lanciani, which is really a glossary giving the parts of a Roman house. The former word is a euphemism for *latrina*, and the latter means an observatory; cf. Hülsen, Röm. Mitth. XVII, pp. 255 ff.

A. Klotz, *Iubatus*. *Abolefacio*. Approves of the reading of the former in *Stat. Silv.* 5. 1. 83 (see *ALL.* XII. 199; *AJP.* XXX 217), but takes it in the sense of "with long hair". Gives an additional instance of the second word in *Mar. Vict. ad Iustin.* *Manich.* 6 (*Migne* 8. 1003<sup>a</sup>).

A. Souter, *Assistentia*. *Tuitio*. The former word should not find a place in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, since it is an emendation for *tuitio* in *Migne* 35. 2351.

J. Cornu, *Apud* = *cum* (cf. *Archiv* II. 26-33). Gives additional examples.

O. Schlutter, *Indrutico*. *Rediviva*. Testimony to the existence of the former word and an interpretation of the latter as "redyed" (used of purple).

W. Heraeus, *Ein eigentümlicher Gebrauch der Präposition cum*. In *Livy* 43. 2 *cum M. Titinio . . . recuperatores sumpserunt* the preposition *cum* should stand; cf. *Val. Max.* 8. 2. 1 *arbitrum adducere (addicere) cum adversario*. The usage is parallel with *agere, queri, expostulare cum aliquo*.

291-300. Review of the Literature for 1901. 1902. 1903.

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PHILOLOGUS, Bd. LXVII (N. F. XXI), 1908.

I, pp. 1-11. A. v. Domaszewski, *Kleine Beiträge zur Kaisergeschichte*. 1. Caesar's divine honors. These, voted him by the senate in the beginning of 44 B. C., had a double origin. After the battle of Thapsus a statue was given him in the Capitolium opposite Jupiter, with the inscription *hūiθεος* (*Dio.* 43, 14, 6), an honor imitated from that of Attalus III of Pergamum. The second honor, putting him alongside of Quirinus (*Dio.* 43, 45, 3) was decreed after the battle of Munda. The *Luperci Iuliani* of Quirinus Iulius and the flamen of Iuppiter Iulius are imitations of the Hellenistic cult of monarchs. 2. Augustus and Livius. Plutarch in his life of Marcellus c. 30, names Livy and Augustus as his authority for the version of the tradition that the remains of Marcellus were collected in a silver urn and taken to Rome where they were buried in the grave of Marcellus. In *Liv.* 27, 28 no such statement is made, and it must have been a later correction in some other passage. As Augustus handled the subject in his funeral oration for the young Marcellus, Livy probably treated the subject again in connection with this same occasion, and so the third decade was written before 23 B. C., another evidence for the rapidity with which Livy wrote. 3. The war with the Marmaridae

under Augustus, 1 A. D. Cf. Dio. 55, 10a; 55, 28; Dittenb. Inscr. Orient. 767. The commander who won laurels in this war was Sulpicius Quirinius, a tribune, who ruled Cyrenaica for the time being. After the war the province was restored to the rule of the senate. 4. On Corbulo's Armenian War. An inscription in Jour. of Hellenic Studies 27, 1907, 64, n. 5, from Mekle, deals with the wintering of a vexillatio of the Legio VI Ferrata in Armenia under Sulpicius Asper, used for garrison-duty. Asper was one of the ringleaders in the Pisonian conspiracy. Cf. Tac. Ann. 15, 68. 5. The last companions of Nero,—Epaphroditus and probably Phaon, were honored under the Flavians. 6. The administration of Judaea under Claudius and Nero. The procuratorial province of Judaea was an offshoot of Syria and the procurator Iudaeae was subject to the legatus Augusti pro praetore Syriae. So a legatus Augusti ruled Dacia superior, and Dacia inferior, under a procurator, was subject to the legatus. So in Germania superior, a procurator regionis Sumelocenenensis et translimitanae was under the legatus Augusti pro praetore Germaniae superioris.

II, pp. 12-51. L. Jeep, Priscianus, contributions to the history of the transmission of Roman literature. Part I. Summary on pp. 50-51. Priscian consulted a series of late, chiefly grammatical books. Where we can control his citations, we find that he has used them carelessly and in a mechanical way. Where he has made his own excerpts, he seems to have done so only on a few (generally adjacent) pages, and notes relatively insignificant things, and we observe that he always passes over good things with indifference and cites classical passages and the *ars grammatica* of Donatus as of equal value. Priscian's discrimination and value have been much overrated.

III, pp. 52-67. P. Thielscher, Ciceros Topik und Aristoteles. Summary on pp. 66-67. The question at issue is whence Cicero drew the *τόποι* not whence came the secondary materials with which he embellished them. The answer is that Cicero used not Aristotles' Topics in eight or nine books, but his Rhetoric in three books, which contained not only one but many collections of *τόποι*, hence *τοπικά*. Cicero's Topica is rightly classified among his rhetorical works.

IV, pp. 68-112. C. Preisendanz, De L. Annaei Senecae rhetoris apud philosophum filium auctoritate. I. Discussion of those passages which seem certainly to have been imitated from his father. II. Discussion of those passages where there is a certain similarity but which must be ascribed to the use of common-places. III. In another article the writer promises to handle those passages which emanate from other, chiefly Stoic, sources.

V, pp. 113-133. Benno von Heyn, Isocrates und Alexander. A rehabilitation of the character of Isocrates, whom Niebuhr's

criticism had condemned, but whose real significance has been recognized by Ed. Meyer and Beloch. In the surprising transition from democracy to the Hellenistic monarchy, from the *πόλις* to a universal Hellenistic civilization, Isocrates contributed his share, and when we speak of Alexander, we ought to think also of the great spokesman of the Greek nation, who showed himself, in his rôle as educator of the prince, to be a farsighted man of quite eminent political judgment.

VI, pp. 134-153. A. Müller, *Die Primipilares und der pastus primipili*. In the organization of the army under Diocletian and Constantine, the *primipili* and *primipilares* vanish, while there frequently appear in the *Codex Theodosianus* and *Codex Iustinianus* persons bearing the name of *primipilares* with a function called *pastus primipili*. These were civil officials—so-called *cohortales* (*Cod. Theod.* 8, 4). The *pastus primipili* belonged to the commissary arm of the service, and was administered by civilians as the delivery of the *annona* was a part of the revenue service. The duties of these officials are discussed in great detail from all the available sources.

#### Miscellen.

1. pp. 154-158. K. Praechter, *Zu Kleanthes fr. 91 P. 527 v. A.* The verses in the closing chapter of Epictetus' *Encheiridion* are a sort of cento based on Euripides' *Andromed.* fr. 132, *Hec.* 346 ff., and two verses known from *Plut. cons. ad Apoll.* 29 to be Euripidean. Then follow two verses from Plato. The other verses of Kleanthes show such reminiscences. Seneca *Ep.* 107, 10 f., gives a translation of the verses, vaguely citing a Ciceronian form. Augustin. *de civ. dei* 5, 8, ascribes it to Seneca "nisi fallor". The closing verse: *ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt* is in genuine Roman style and seems to imply that Sen. did not know the verses *ὅστις δ' ἀνάγκη κτλ.* as a constituent part of the poem. But we cannot conclude that the verses are not by Kleanthes.

2. pp. 158-160. W. H. Roscher, *Zu Ausonius de aetatibus animantium* (*Hesodion* = *edyll.* XVIII, p. 152, Schenkl = p. 93, Peiper). The fragment of Hesiod translated by Ausonius came from a passage in Plutarch or at least a source used by Plutarch, *de defectu oracul.* c. 11.

VII, pp. 161-201. E. Assmann, *Zur Vorgeschichte von Kreta*. A linguistic study of the old Cretan names of places, gods and cults, and ancient customs to prove the possibility or probability of Semitic origin.

VIII, pp. 202-237. H. Steiger, *Wie entstand die Helena des Euripides?* Summary on p. 237: He who rightly understands the Helena of Euripides, he who sees in this *καὶνὴ Ἑλένη* and her wandering knight Menelaos a successful parody, woven out of

Homer and parts of the Iphigenia will find nothing objectionable in the thought that these two dramas so very different in their stage-effect were produced on the same occasion—the great Dionysia in 412 B. C.

IX, pp. 238–278. A. Roemer, *Philologie und Afterphilologie im griechischen Altertum*. I. Parodies and the doctrines of the Alexandrines concerning them. The Alexandrines themselves realized the necessity of distinguishing between fact and fancy in the exegesis of Greek comedies. *παρά* was used to indicate a divergence between the text of the comic writer and the original he changed or parodied. The parodied and parodying passages were regularly written out in full with an exact naming of the play from which the parodied passage was taken. The ancients were not afraid of confessing their inability to trace out an original to a parody. The scholia pessimae notae should be either put aside or labeled scholia deteriora. Our interpretation can have more certainty when the scholiast's name is given and his reputation known, otherwise the use or non-use of the stereotyped method of citation must guide us; or there must be a complete likeness, or more or less close relation of the two texts in words or thought—with or without jesting purpose—but in this case the source of the parody must be written out complete.

X, pp. 279–303. A. Brieger, *Die Unfertigkeit des Lucrezischen Gedichtes*. A discussion of certain apparently dislocated passages and certain repetitions in order to show that the poet himself could not have put the finishing touch on his work. The state of the question in Lucretius criticism is first analyzed. Lucretius was so interested in his theme that he might well have written various verses on his travels and placed them temporarily in his poem; then again certain passages he might well have written in the lucid moments between his epileptic attacks, when however he might often have been depressed. But there are other flaws which are to be explained only on the supposition that Lucretius was unable to put the last touch on his work.

XI, pp. 304–310. B. Sauer, *Der Betende des Boedas*. The statue of the youth in an attitude of prayer mentioned by Plin. N. H. 34, 90, as by Boedas is that which stood once in a shrine of Zeus Ourios on the Bosporos (Gyllius fr. 58–59 of Dionysios Geogr. Graec. min. ed. Müll. II S. 78. Dionys. Byzant. 2d. Wescher, S. 29f.)—the Boedas of Byzantium mentioned by Vitruvius III prooem. 2. This Boedas was perhaps the son of Lysippos. The Berlin bronze is possibly a copy.

#### Miscellen.

3. pp. 311–314. C. Ritter, *Platonica*. 1. Theaet. 190 c, contains a marginal gloss *περὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου*; Rep. IX 580 d (τὸ λογιστικόν) is a gloss. In Rep. X 585 c *δεῖ δμοίου οὐσία* is a gloss, and *ἡ* should be changed to *ῖ*, the interrogative particle. 2. Rep. IV 435 e



κατὰ τὸν ἄνω τόπον refers to the position on a map—north. 3. Rep. III 393 a, b. The belief that Homer wrote the Iliad in his youth, the Odyssey, in his old age, was current in Alexandrian times, but was apparently held in Plato's. 4. Phaidr. 229 b, 230 b, 279 b: The plane-tree, etc., stood on the left bank.

4. pp. 314-316. Karl Meiser, Zu dem Apologeten Aristides und Athenagoras. In Aristides c. 11 ed. Geffcken for ἐπαιθίδα read ἐπαύλου θῆρα with allusion to Apollo's service under Admetus. The value of Lucian's writings in the interpretation is illustrated by Aristid. c. 13, 7 and Luc. Menipp. 3; Athenag. c. 11 and Luc. Peregr. 12; Athenag. c. 12 and Luc. Alexand. 61 and Hermot. 58; Athenag. c. 13 and Luc. Jupp. Conf. 5.

5. pp. 316-318. A. Müller, Dekoration bei pantomimischen Aufführungen. The passage in Gregory of Nyssa (Ep. 9, p. 1039 f.; Bd. 46 Migne) attests the use of painted scenery at pantomimic exhibitions, and although the sole testimony, it probably alludes to a well-known custom. Hence Friedländer (Sittengesch. II<sup>6</sup> S. 453) is not quite to the point.

6. pp. 319-320. O. Probst, Biographisches zu Cassius Felix. Anon. "de miraculis Sancti Stephani protomartyris" (Migne, P. P. lat. XLI, 833 sqq. contains some testimony hitherto overlooked. C. F. was a Christian, came from Africa, lived considerable time in Carthage, as he passed there in 424 as Archiatros.

XII, pp. 321-324. E. Kornemann, Eine neue Xenophon-Handschrift auf Papyrus (with one plate). In the Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins at Giessen is a fragment of Xenophon's Symposium (8, 15-18) catalogued as Inv. Nr. 175. It may be dated at about A. D. 200. The chief value of the fragment is to give the reading παρανόησι in Col. II, lines 4-5 for the old corruption παρά τι ποιήση variously emended.

XIII, pp. 325-365. H. Jacobsohn, Der Aoristtypus ἀλτο und die Aspiration bei Homer. (To be continued.) The history of the epic language is an ever increasingly strong replacing of the Aeolic foundation by Ionic forms. In Aeolic psilosis preceded the aspiration of the Ionic epic, and so psilosis reaches back into a very ancient period. The writer first discusses the views of Thumb (Asper, p. 56 f.) and Wackernagel (verm. Beitr., p. 5 f.). The best proof of whether or not Homer generally used psilosis would come from Epigrammes of great antiquity. But so far the evidence is meagre and likely to be misleading. In the case of Ionian poets of the mainland of Asia Minor as regards rough and smooth breathings we find: While in the fragments in elegiac metre no trace of psilosis is anywhere found, it appears often enough in the other fragments, mostly in elision and krasis, more rarely in composition. The dialect, in which such a change occurs, is the insular Ionic. The article is to be continued.

XIV, pp. 366-410. A. Roemer, *Philologie und Afterphilologie im griechischen Altertum*. II. Didymus as interpreter of Aristophanes. Summary on pp. 408-410. In regard to the transmission of the material from the Alexandrine school of philologists we cannot harmonize the word for word extracts from Didymus, as well as second hand citations, with this material except in rare cases. In most cases he advanced his opinion in opposition to the others, only to obscure the precious treasures there. If Didymus did not find this valuable material in his sources—then his communications have no value. If he did find them but felt himself obliged to oppose his own views to them—without giving the views he attacked—then again he is to be condemned. But fortunately even among the Greeks his authority was not without reservation—else what little of value we have got from him would have been sacrificed to it.

XV, pp. 411-472. W. A. Oldfather, *Lokrika*. With five excursuses. Investigations in the Locrian legendary lore—a prologue to his investigations of the Locrian race in the earliest times. I. Medon. II. The Aias-question. III. Patroklos. There was a race-hero, Medon, who played a very important rôle in the genealogies of Phokis, Lokris and Boeotia. II. Some preliminary questions. Hodoidokos appears to be an intentional alteration of the name Laodokos, who with father Kynos was interpreted in the genealogy of the Opuntian royal house by Hellanikos under Attic influence. All attempts to draw conclusions from the name for the explanation of the figure Aias are unjustifiable.

#### Miscellen.

7. pp. 473-474. J. Baunack, Phokisch *πλάτος* = nummus.

8. pp. 474-475. K. Preisendanz: *ΦΥΣΙΣ*. The magic papyri (ed. Wessely, 1889) offer many examples of the personification of *Φύσις* current before as well as after Claudian.

9. pp. 475-476. B. v. Hagen, *Eine Platoremiscenz bei Plotin*. Plotin. XXX 9, p. 46, 4 ff. (Kirchhoff) and Plato Rep. IV 426 D. ff.

10. pp. 477-479. Eb. Nestle, *Zum neuen Wiener Tertullian*. (Bd. 47. C. S. E. L.), p. 515. Shows some serious defects in the apparatus criticus and method of text construction.

11. pp. 479-480. G. Lehnert, *Das corpus decem rhetorum minorum*—in the superscription of Cod. Montepessulanus H. 126, these ten minor rhetores may be in contradistinction to Cicero and no corpus rhetorum maiorum need be assumed (cf. Schanz. Röm. Littgesch. III.<sup>2</sup> S. 163).

12. p. 480. A. E. Schöne, *Ein Glossem bei Mela I. 7, 38*—condicione is a gloss and is to be stricken out of the text.

XVI, pp. 481-530. H. Jacobsohn, Der Aoristtypus ἀλτο und die Aspiration bei Homer. Conclusion of article XIII, pp. 325-365.

XVII, pp. 531-581. W. Nestle, Bemerkungen zu den Vorsokratikern und Sophisten. Further annotations supplementary to and explanatory of his Auswahl aus den vorsokratischen Philosophen (Jena, 1908).

XVIII, pp. 582-605. A. Bonhöffer, Die Telosformel des Stoikers Diogenes. This read εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ καὶ [τῶν παρὰ φύσιν] ἀπεκλογῇ and did not contain a morally low intention.

XIX, pp. 606-611. K. Borinski, Literarische Schicksale griechischer Hetairen. Rhodope appears in many curious legends—one much like Cinderella (Strabo 17, 1; 33, 808 and Aelian., var. hist. 13, 33), and at last in Joh. Peter Titz (Titius) as a poetess (in his Heroid publ. in 1647). The allusion to Thais in Dante Inf. Cant. XVIII, verses 133-135, really contains a mistake in the reference, as Dante got the incident not from Terence, Eun. 391—where the parasite Gnatho asks the question—but from a quotation in Cicero's Laelius 26 (98), *Magnas vero agere gratias* Thais mihi? Satis erat respondere; *Magnas, Ingentes*, inquit. So Dante, Purg. 33, 49, uses Naide for Laiades (wrong reading of Ovid, Met. 7, 759). For Cato's rôle in Purg. 1, 65 sq.; cf. Cic. Lael. 25 (89) with vs. 92.

#### Miscellen.

13. p. 612. W. Nestle, Zu Arat., Phainomena 4. That writer had Odys. γ 48, in mind—a verse regarded by Melanchthon as the most beautiful in Homer.

14. p. 612. P. Crusius, Cicero on Atticus IV 6, 2 reads *relegi qua est* = I have read again that letter of yours in which appears the advice, etc.

#### Indices.

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## BRIEF MENTION.

The first edition of DIELS's *Herakleitos von Ephesos* (Weidmann), which appeared in 1901, was intended, as the author frankly says in a note to the second edition (p. xvi), merely to serve as a specimen of the scheme of his 'Vorsokratiker'. But even after the second edition of the 'Vorsokratiker', there was a call for the monograph on Herakleitos; and in response to the demand Professor DIELS has given us a somewhat ampler Herakleitos and has paid more attention to the exegesis, although the author tells us that he has not had and has not now any intention to be exhaustive—a pity, in view of his illuminating introduction (A. J. P. XXIII 345). On the heels of this edition has followed close the *Eracilito* of BODRERO (Torino, Fratelli Bocca), an Italian scholar, whose *Empedocle* has been highly praised by Professor LEONARD in his translation of the Agrigentine, which was briefly mentioned in the preceding number of the Journal (XXX 474). The reëntrance of the Italians upon the field of classical scholarship, which their ancestors once dominated, is one of the most interesting developments (A. J. P. XXIV 108) that I have been privileged to witness in my long career, coinciding as it does with what has been called the American invasion of Europe and in the case of the Italians as in the case of the Americans there is evidence of German tutelage. So, f. i., the mania for an exhaustive command of the 'literature' of every subject that is taken in hand would seem to be Teutonic rather than Ausonian; and of this tendency a recent illustration has been given by the publication of an elaborate *Germania Filologica* by GUIDO MANACORDA with 20,000 titles of works on the German language and literature (Cremona, Pietro Fezzi, 1910). To be sure, in this accumulation of authorities there is apt to be a certain lack of perspective (A. J. P. XXX 358), but some of us have reason to be grateful for the generous inclusiveness of Italian scholars (A. J. P. XXV 353), who do not begin, as German critics often do, by sniffing at the work of those whose language so many of them understand but imperfectly. No amount of *amende honorable* will atone for cheap sneers and gross misrepresentations (A. J. P. XXII 350). In every Italian work, then, we expect a full bibliography and BODRERO's *Eracilito* is no exception. On the philosophic side of the book I have no right to an opinion, for I have never got beyond the picture-writing stage and my defence of the concrete style is an apology for my own performances in the metaphorical line (A. J. P. XXIX 239). The 'philosophization' of language, in which BODRERO recognizes so great an advance, has no charm for me; for to me 'abgezog-

ener Begriff' is the mere hide of the living creature that once palpitated beneath it. And this is the reason why the new life of Italian scholarship appeals to my ill-regulated fancy and why I am encouraged by BODRERO's example to look upon Herakleitos as a poet rather than as a thinker. What Herakleitos himself would have thought of such an interpretation can readily be imagined, what use he would have made of the lush material in which he bedded himself and of the foot which he interposed between himself and the sun; and as BODRERO's book appears in a series called *Il Pensiero Greco*, I must do the author the justice to say that while he emphasizes the poetical side of Herakleitos, he refuses to call him a poet pure and simple. 'Herakleitos', he says (p. 67), 'did not possess the gift of poesy; not all the Muses were about his cradle'. And yet he is obliged to concede 'that in the fragments there is so much poetry and poetry of the highest order that we are on the point of saying that at times Herakleitos is more poet than philosopher', and he does not wonder that a century after Herakleitos a certain Skythinos of Teos was moved to translate his book into metrical form.

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Whether BODRERO himself is more poet than philosopher I shall not undertake to decide. But whenever hereafter I repent me of my own kaleidoscopic style, as often happens, I can comfort myself with the thought that nothing I have done to vex the vision of grammarians can compare with the particolored garb of BODRERO's diction. In his study of Flaubert Faguet says (p. 46): Un ami de Sainte-Beuve lui disait sur Salammbô: 'C'est plus fatigant qu'ennuyeux. Je saisis mal la nuance. C'est très fatigant et c'est aussi ennuyeux que fatigant'. But the same critic writing of Chateaubriand remarks: 'Sa déclamation même est fatigante sans être ennuyeuse. C'est qu'elle n'est pas froide'. And the fervor of BODRERO puts him rather with the Chateaubriands than with the Flauberts. The strain is considerable, but one is not really bored and so I venture to give the substance of a few sentences of BODRERO's which may relieve the syntactical drearinesses of *Brief Mention*.

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'Philosophy', he says in the preface—which, being addressed to a former fellow-student, moves forward with a swing of personal intimacy—'Philosophy, so far as is consistent with her nature, remains in a certain sense poetry, but she is treated now like a new Cassandra, who, having rejected Apollo, is condemned to a sterile vaticination, now as a new Ophelia, who casts away her flower and drowns herself in her madness'. 'The fetichism of method', he continues, 'has reduced her to the



condition of an abandoned woman, who stands by night at a street-corner, looking out for some one to fool himself into the belief that he can make her a mother'. Out upon those sciences, he cries, 'that treat her with the considerate superiority which youthful light o' loves show to an old she-sinner'. It will hardly be believed that all this eternal femininity is brought within the compass of a single page. This sexual sphere of comparison reminds me very much of Fraccaroli's apt and striking phrase, 'masturbazione intellettuale', which I was constrained to leave in the transparent vestment of the original (A. J. P. XV 506). Metaphor apart, BODRERO's whole preface is a protest against 'la sfrenata tirannide del metodo'. According to him, 'A thousand logical arguments cannot shake off the witchery of an intense and profound sentiment from the soul of a man that loves'. And yet nowadays 'he who undertakes to examine whether such and such a sonnet is more or less beautiful, whether such and such a tenet is more or less just or justifiable, is nowhere in comparison with one who can tell the precise date at which a horrible sonnet was written or discovers the great truth indispensable to human happiness that resides in the knowledge of the genealogy of a manuscript in which an absurd sentence of an ancient plagiarist is worst mutilated'. To BODRERO the world of thought is evidently out of joint. 'Here in the dawn of the twentieth century the method we are constrained to employ leads us to the most useless violence toward the integrity of philosophical activity. Things and deeds exist for us only so far as we can perceive them <the  $\omega$ s of the sophists>' and whilst 'experimental methods may widen the range of our knowledge and show us a new aspect of the world, they will not destroy the value of the other instruments of which the spirit of man disposes. 'La pensée', says Charles Huit, 'ne suffit pas à la philosophie: il lui faut l'âme entière'. What we want is the 'meditative repercussion of the truth on the inner organism of man'. As Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe are at once classicists and romanticists, so in philosophy a daring and acute logic ought to produce a balance between science and faith or the corresponding exigencies of the mind. The possibility of the coëxistence of these activities constitutes the perfect intellectual happiness in which BODRERO thinks no one has better known how to live than the sublime and mysterious thinkers who preceded Sokrates. 'Preceded Sokrates', he is careful to say. They were in no sense precursors of Sokrates. <There was no *Praeparatio Socratica* as we speak of a *Praeparatio Evangelica*.> The development from Thales to the Sophists was one, and BODRERO pleads for the early philosophy of the *ensemble* as Fraccaroli pleads for the poetry of the unconscious (A. J. P. XV 506), though the literature is a literature of fragments. The fragments are all the more fascinating because they are fragments. They speak to the soul in the exquisite tones of mystery—these far-off detached notes of a *sinfonia*

*eroica*. With all our logic we have never equalled that spring-time of thought. So much for the Presocratics in general. Unfortunately I have not space to summarize what BODRERO has said of the 'august and imperious enunciator of doctrines and principles that sound to our ears like so many marvellous revelations', Herakleitos himself.

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I have a profound distrust of historical parallels—parallel bars, I have called them, for exhibiting feats of mental agility or moral suppleness. No less profound a distrust have I of the lessons of history and I cannot refrain from quoting here an authentic anecdote, to which the daily press has given currency. Lord Morley told a story how Mr. Bryce in 1876, during the time of the Bulgarian agitation, met a learned professor who was always descanting on the application of history to politics. Mr. Bryce cited to this professor <whose name has been revealed to me> the Eastern question as one in which history could teach a lesson in contemporary politics. "Certainly", said the professor. "You mean, of course", said Mr. Bryce, "that the Turks were in the wrong and that we ought not to support them". "No", said the professor, "I mean the exact opposite". But profound distrust does not always dispel the fascination of an alluring game, nay, sometimes actually heightens it; and it so happens that I am personally very much addicted to a sport, the attraction of which is almost invincible for one who tries to live in both worlds (A. J. P. XXX 231). We fancy that we are reconstructing the life of antiquity and the living stones are taken from our own spiritual house. One may protest against the process as one protests against chromatic translations (A. J. P. XXIII 469), but the scholar is no more proof against the charm than is the layman.

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In the search for parallels, for lessons, Rome seems much nearer to us than Greece, and it may well be contended that we are still living the life of the Romans (A. J. P. VI 482). Whether this be so or not, the favorable reception of Ferrero's *Greatness and Decline of Rome* is largely due to the sense of actuality imparted to the story by the frequent illustrations, which the author has drawn from the movements and events of the time in which we live and the land in which we dwell. Such analogies, such parallels are always popular and the panorama of Roman history and Roman society will always yield abundant materials for the exercise of political insight or the exhibition of politicianly rhetoric. Mommsen was a politician as well as an historian (A. J. P. VI 484), and Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte* owes much of its interest and its success to the sidelights of modern social and economic life. In many aspects Greek life also is

modern enough. At any rate, in the judgment of Professor VON PÖHLMANN Greek politics and Greek social economy have not been made to yield all their lessons. In one of his essays (A. J. P. XVI 528) the eminent Munich professor has shown us how much juice can be extracted from what seems the sapless rhetoric of Isokrates, and in his *Griechische Geschichte*, the fourth edition of which has appeared in the VON MÜLLER *Handbuch* series (Oskar Beck, Munich, 1908), he maintains that with the increasing 'democratization' of the modern world, the history of Greece is becoming more and more instructive. The problems of Greek civilization, he contends, are ours; and he has marshalled a formidable array of questions, which our times are called upon to answer. Most of the sections to which he refers deal with European problems, but, as the years go on, European problems are becoming more and more American problems and the student of the America of to-day will find his account in a closer acquaintance with the book.

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I have no business with French Syntax but the announcement of Professor ARMSTRONG'S *Syntax of the French Verb* reminds me of a discourse of Professor HALE'S at the recent meeting of the *American Philological Association* in which he pointed out in his own humorous and convincing way the unpracticality, not to say, the absurdity of the varying nomenclature in the domain of Indo-European syntax. How simple and beautiful everything would be, if the world of scholars would adopt unanimously some one of the many schemes that have been propounded, preferably of course, Professor HALE'S own nomenclature, some features of which have found wide acceptance. Unfortunately, a condition precedent to such a consensus would be the demise of Professor STAHL, who has recently presented us with a brand new terminology for the moods and tenses in Greek, which he will only surrender with life; and even after the representatives of the syntax of the past shall have withdrawn from the stage, some avenger may start up from the dry bones of my Greek Syntax (S. C. G. 369 footn.) to protest against the confusion of 'anticipatory' and 'prospective'. The distinction between the two is a practical one, an important one. 'Anticipation' say, of the joys of marriage—see my commentary on the Ninth Pythian—differs as much from the prospect thereof, as the Theokritean 'Οαριστός from the nuptial song of Catullus. But I forbear to discuss the matter now as I forbore to discuss it then, nor will I enlarge on the infelicity of Professor HALE'S introduction of *πρίν* *άν* into the field of comparison. *Antequam* with the subj. and *avant que* with the subj. may be considered parallels, but *πρίν* *άν* with the subj. cannot be used after a positive sentence which is the favorite combination of *antequam* with the subj. In that case we should have to use *πρίν* c. inf., in French *avant de*;

and  $\pi\rho\iota\nu$  c. inf. I do not hesitate to parallel with  $\pi\rho\iota\nu$  c. opt. (S. C. G. 400), which it often displaces (A. J. P. XXVI 489). As a matter of fact I have dared to say: A murrain on the man who first simplified Greek and Latin grammar by translating  $\iota\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$  'subjunctive' and thus identifying the Greek mood with the mixed Latin mood, which is prevalently an optative (A. J. P. XXV 481). Had it not been for him, we might have been spared the parallelization of *tamquam* with the Latin subj. and  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\tau\epsilon$  with the Greek subj. (A. J. P. XIII 62-70). Fortunately, no forcing can produce a Latin parallel for  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  with the anticipatory Greek subjunctive, which has no equivalent in Latin as even Horton-Smith the Elder saw (A. J. P. XVI 124).

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Dr. ALFRED GUDEMAN's wellwishers had hoped that after the severance of his relations with the educational work of America the climate of Munich would eliminate from his system the hookworm of typographical indolence, which marred the favorable impression produced by his useful little manual *Outlines of the History of Classical Philology* so highly commended by Dr. Sandys in the Preface to the first volume of his Classical Scholarship. But the first German edition of the book, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der klassischen Philologie* (Teubner), showed the same lack of typographical vision and my faithful adjutant in the proofreading of the Journal has submitted for my inspection a list of accentual blunders, which would not escape animadversion even in a land which to Dr. GUDEMAN is the *Arabia Deserta* of philology. The second German edition, which has followed the first in the short space of two years, has had the advantage of more careful, not to say, more competent readers and most of the mistakes seem to have been corrected, but some still abide to annoy the Greek scholar and the quotation from Ps. Pl. Axiochus, 366 E (p. 3) still remains unintelligible by reason of the omission of the leading verb. Of the popularity and usefulness of a manual that has reached its fifth edition—three in America, two in Germany,—there can be no question. But FREUND'S *Triennium Philologicum* patchery seems to hold its own still; and I am one of those prejudiced persons who distrust any philological work that sins grossly against the rudimentary virtue of typographical cleanliness (A. J. P. XIX 234, XXVIII 235). Irregularities have a way of going in couples, in leashes. An exceptional form is apt to be exceptional in more than one respect; and if I had not been too busy in pointing out a solecism in the use of  $\pi\rho\iota\nu$  when I commented on DALMEYDA'S *Bacchae* (A. J. P. XXX 225) I should not have failed to note the violation of Porson's law, which did not escape a more vigilant reviewer in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 18. Dez., 1909.



In Vol. XXV (1904) of the Journal Professor KIRBY FLOWER SMITH published a long review of *Zielinski's Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden* (pp. 453-463), which was the first fitting introduction of the brilliant and important work to the English speaking world, and which was found useful and suggestive even by those who knew the original. This review was followed a year after by a notice of the same work, contributed to the *Classical Review* (XIX 1905, pp. 164-172) by ALBERT CURTIS CLARK, the eminent Ciceronian scholar, who has since published (1909) in a convenient and attractive form under the title of *Fontes Prosae Numerosae* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) a collection of the *Testimonia Veterum* with examples drawn from Latin and Greek writers of rhythmical prose. It would have been graceful, to say the least, if Mr. CLARK had made some reference to his American predecessor, but Professor SMITH's case is a familiar experience with American scholars. We Americans, largely by reason of our training, are better acquainted with the work of German masters and are more sympathetic with it than is the average English scholar. Sometimes we get too much credit for what we have appropriated from them, but more frequently we are relegated to the humble rank of ushers and are forgotten by those who have followed in the track of Cis-Atlantic students.

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Those who quote CHRIST's *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (München, Oskar Beck) should be careful to mention the edition, for the fifth edition, brought out by W. SCHMID, with the assistance of OTTO STÄHLIN (München, Oskar Beck) is revolutionary in some of the chapters; and CHRIST is not to be made responsible for what he might not, most probably would not, have accepted. Publication is often synonymous with crystallization. The new editors say that they have preserved intact long stretches of the text notably in those sections in which CHRIST had made personal studies; and of these the section on Plato is specially designated. But CONSTANTIN RITTER, the indefatigable Platonist (A. J. P. X 470 foll.), who has just brought out the first volume of his *Platon* and his *Neue Untersuchungen über Platon* (München, Oskar Beck), of which by the way only two are strictly speaking new, is careful to cite CHRIST-SCHMID and not CHRIST pure and simple. The progress of doctrine, as exhibited in successive editions of standard works is an interesting story—sometimes amusing and always profitable (A. J. P. XXV 226).

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I have called attention more than once with satisfaction to the appearance of editions from which the study of syntax has been eliminated—so notably in the Freytag-Tempsky Series (A. J. P.



XIII 125, XXV 352), and without going into the merits of the edition for which the name of the editor would be sufficient warrant, I welcome with both hands Professor MORRIS'S *Satires of Horace* (American Book Co.) in which an American syntactician, whose work has been pronounced epochal by German grammarians has discarded all the ballast of grammatical references that encumbers so many editions of an author like Horace. When we come to the higher ranges of literature there ought to be a dead line drawn for certain Latin constructions. In the initial steps a small portion of an author might be abandoned to the Megaera of Syntax and years ago I myself made a drill-book on Latin Syntax out of the Fifth Book of Caesar. It is a pity that I had not selected a less interesting book. Now it seems to me that every construction there noted might be blacklisted for an edition of Horace, to begin with. But, of course, those who deal with the more subtle study of the moods will not be satisfied with such a rescript and will insist on all the shades of meaning to be found within and without Roget's Thesaurus, so that I have known one despairing student who, weary of this microscopic analysis, headed his school-exercise with the motto:

Reddidi carmen docilis modorum  
Vatis Horati.

'I have translated the poem of the bard Horace with due regard to the moods'. Of course, when the point of a sentence pivots on the syntax and grammar becomes rhetoric, a syntactical note is never out of place—but unfortunately this saving clause may let in syntax as a flood.

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The *Aristophanes and Others* of Mr. HERBERT RICHARDS (London, S. Grant Richards) is a companion volume to *Xenophon and Others*, of which *Brief Mention* was made some years ago (A. J. P. XXVIII 485), when I took occasion to express my appreciation of the acumen and diligence of the author. The chapter on the language of Aristophanes in which, by the way, Mr. RICHARDS acknowledges his obligation to an American dissertation by Dr. HOPE, will be welcomed by the votaries of that spoiled darling of the Muses. It is true that Mr. RICHARDS is an exceptionally careful scholar, that he is not one of those gay deceivers of the Book of Proverbs, whose sport means firebrands, arrows and death to his sober neighbor. He is not like the author of *ANTI MIAΣ*, a bulky work in two volumes (London, Macmillan & Co.), wherein Mr. R. J. WALKER has undertaken to show that the familiar representation of a long by two shorts in Greek lyric poetry is an inveterate blunder and has undertaken further to emend the peccant passages—hit or miss fashion. The digestion of such swarms of ephemerides cannot be accomplished in the swallow flight of *Brief Mention*; and even in Mr.

RICHARDS'S case I must content myself with one or two illustrations of the difficulty of discussing works of this character. One *obiter dictum* may evoke a page of commentary. On p. 73: ἀλλ' ἀντίθετος τοῖς ἐγὼ γὰρ κ. τ. λ. <a fragment of Krates>, he says: The crasis of τοῖς and ἐγὼ in spite of the pause between them seems unlikely, nor is τοῖς much in place with the imperative. This little sentence, it will be seen, involves a consideration of the reach of crasis (synzesis) and the whole question of punctuation in Greek. Some persons may regard it as a grave oversight that I have not noticed in my Syntax the anomalous position of ἀν after a comma (KB, §398, 6 Anm. 5). Comma, indeed. Whose comma? As for the pause, as a friend suggests, why not write 'γῶ? And as for τοῖς with the imperative, one is tempted to ask: Why not τοῖς with imperative? Anybody can object to anything. So Fennell objected years ago to οὖν with the imperative (Pindar, Ol. 10, 11). True, the imperative goes straight to its goal and will not be impeded by ἀν and its chief attendant is the impatient δῆ. True, τοῖς with the optative seems to be taboo, but I should not balk at the sympathetic τοῖς with the imperative in view of Aischyl. P. V. 436; Choëph. 497; So. El. 298; Antigone 1064. In Ar. Lys. 94 τοῖς seems to be a fairly certain correction. By the way, the identity in form of the two τοῖς has given rise to droll mistakes, and the particle τοῖς, the ethical τοῖς, the τοῖς which appeals to the audience and the case τοῖς, the *tibi* τοῖς, the τοῖς which has to do with a real second person, have been sadly confounded. 'Understand what I say unto thee' is a familiar Greek quotation, which has been cited more than once without understanding; and ξύνες ὁ τοῖς λέγω, Ar. Av. 945, has been adduced by two scholars born in different hemispheres and both 'fond of these trifling toys', the Greek particles, as an illustration of Aristophanes' use of the particle with the present indicative. Now ξύνες ὁ τοῖς λέγω is a notorious Pindaric fragment, vouched for as Pindaric by Plato and belongs to the same class with the Pindaric praise of Athens, so lightly attributed to Aristophanes by those who ought to know better, largely, I fear, on the faith of Baedeker (A. J. P. XXVIII 352).

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On the Scut. Heracl. 148: δεινὴ Ἔρις πεπόνητο κορύσσοισα κλόνον ἀνδρῶν Mr. RICHARDS remarks (p. 294): 'There is no propriety here in the pluperfect, for which the imperfect ought rather to have been used'. On the contrary, there is every propriety in the use of what Monro calls the 'attitudinizing' pluperfect—a use that Curtius had insisted on many, many years, Gr. Vb. II 153 (1876), before I translated this very πεπόνητο, S. C. G. 237: 'was afly', 'was flying all abroad'. Compare Sappho's φοιτᾷσεις πεδ' ἁμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα, 'Roaming midst the ghosts, shadowy dead, *flitting away, away*' (A. J. P. XXX 355). Mr. RICHARDS' πεπονητο, has scant warrant in epic usage. In

conclusion, I am sorry that I cannot count Mr. RICHARDS as a reader of this Journal. P. 209, he says: It is perhaps not as well known as it should be that Attic orators are chary of using such parts of λέγω as ἔλεξα, λεχθεῖς, λεχθήσεται. See Professor Miller's article, A. J. P. XVI (1895) 162.

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It was on Aug. 15, 1904 that I saw for the last time the renowned dean of French Hellenists, HENRI WEIL, whose death Nov. 5, 1909, in his ninety-second year cannot be passed over in this Journal as one of the ordinary fulfilments of mortality. French Hellenist I have called him, for whatever his nativity his work bore the stamp of that French elegance, which is the despair of most of us and of which only a master like Renan could dare to speak lightly (A. J. P. XXVI 362). I remembered WEIL in his maturity as a man of rare alertness of presence and speech, and somehow I was not prepared for the ravages of time. His hearing had become impaired, his eyesight seemed almost gone, his form was bowed, his step slow and uncertain—not to be wondered at, perhaps, in a man of eighty-six. But the light of the intellect was undimmed and seemed to be as bright as when three years before he sent me the proof of an article on Greek Syntax, which he had written for the *Journal des Savants* of May, 1901, and from which I conveyed to my own Journal (XXIII 2) his admirable statement of the conditions of the study to which so much of my life has been devoted; and if, as sometimes happens, a friend, a too partial friend reproaches me with having narrowed my mind and having given up to syntax what was meant for wider circles, I run over in thought all the minor poets and minuscule essayists of my time and am comforted as I think on WEIL's words. Undeterred by the infirmities of age the great scholar worked on to the end, now at new editions of the plays of Euripides, now at papers on the novelties that of late years have kept the world of Hellenists on the alert. For he was a genuine Athenian in seeking to hear some new thing; and my last note from him is characteristic of his eager curiosity. By some accident No. 118 of the Journal had failed to reach him and he speedily put in a reclamation: 'Il est vrai', he wrote, 'qu'il y a 91 ans que je suis né mais je suis encore du nombre des vivants et à ce titre je me permets de vous demander le dernier No. de votre journal'. To his exemplary merits as a scholar I have paid tribute over and over again (A. J. P. IV 529, VII 544, XVIII 243, XX 353, XXI 235, XXX 226). Let this be what the Germans call pathetically a 'Nachruf'—which one veteran sends after another, who served for so many years as a pattern of courage and persistence to all whose lives are stretching out beyond the scriptural bourne.

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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## FRENCH.

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